ESSAYES:
OR,
MORALL
AND
POLITICALL
DISCOVRSES.

Written by E. MOLINIER of *Toloſe* Prieſt, and by him Dedicated to the moſt Illuſtrious Lord, the Lord Cardinall of *Valette*, Archbiſhop of *Toloſe*.

LONDON,
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TO THE RIGHT ILLVstrious Prince, IAMES STEVVART: Duke of *Lenox*, Earle of *March*, Lord *Darneley*, *Aubigney*, *Torbolton*, and *Methuen*, Baron of *Leighton*, *Bromswoulde*, Knight of the most noble Order of the *Garter*, and one of his Majesties most Honourable *Privie Councell*.

My Lord,

IN the wisest Counsell of the happiest Kingdome you sit Eminent, and judicious; that by the advantage of your Princely extraction, this by the Industry of your owne endeavors. Hereby, your Grace hath confuted time; proving Experience is not alwayes wrinckled, nor Wisedome gray-hayr'd. This Greatnesse of

Your bloud, hath placed you neere to the moſt glorious Monarch, and the ſplendor of Your Vertue addeth yet a higher Title. Among theſe univerſall Acclamations, it were a Crime black as Malice, ſhould I be ſilent, who to the Memory of the great and Good Duke of *Richmond* Your Graces Vncle, owe a Religious Tribute. You are his heyre, and I by the Law of Gratitude Your Vaſſall. Receive (then) with a gracious Eye this firſt tender of a Service, than which none more humble, none more ſincere. And by the Indulgency of Your Favour, give life to this Tranſlation, which by Your Acceptation, ſhall tryumph over Envie. Though herein I may ſeeme preſumptuous, yet ſhall I not (I hope) prove unſerviceable, eſteeming no mans happineſſe above mine, being admitted the Honour of Subſcribing my ſelfe,

Your Graces moſt humble, and moſt Devoted Servant:

WILLIAM TYRWHIT.

To the Reader.

HAving ever esteemed, that the imployment of those Talents, either naturally bestowed on man by God, or acquired by study and industry, ought more properly yea and of duty rather to bee imployed in the service of our King and Country, than to be made use of in the satisfaction of our private humours. I doe here (in acquittance of that generall obligation) adventure to offer up this poore mite of my endeavours, among the many learned & elaborate workes which the choyce wits and learned pens of our age produce in all kindes. It is but a translation: the originall belonging to a very learned and reverend French Authour, whose fluent

fluent style, and profound learning so happily appearing in his owne language, made mee not a little timorous to undertake to make him speake English, being justly apprehensive as well of doing him wrong, as disgracing my selfe: but the zealous desire I had to be serviceable to all such studious and worthy persons, who haply not understanding the French language, are yet desirous to enable and adorn themselves with those vertues and qualities requisite for such who by an honest and noble ambition doe any way ayme to be rightly usefull for the service of our Soveraigne in the most eminent offices and charges of this great Empire, did so farre over-rule me, as I rather choose to undergoe that hazard, than to bereave them of so great a benefit by my over-much bashfulnesse. Now though the practise of those things contained in this Treatise, belong properly to such choyce persons whose vertues, excellent endowments, or advantage of birth, together with our Soveraignes favours make capable for the conduct of weighty affaires, yet doth the speculative part thereof indifferently appertaine to all generous spirits. I shall not need any further to commend the Author, his worke

worke will ſufficiently ſpeake for him. The onely favour I *am to require is for the Tranſlator, who if he have not ſufficiently acquitted himſelfe, or have come ſhort of thoſe lively expreſſions appearing in the originall: conſider (gentle Reader) that few Painters have ever beene able to equalize the purtraits drawne by* Apelles *in any their moſt exact copies. It would therefore prove an unexcuſable arrogancy in me, ſhould I have the leaſt imagination of entring into compariſon with ſo excellent a French Penne, by any Engliſh of mine: if you pleaſe therefore to excuſe my defects, and accept of my good deſires, you ſhall therein much incourage me to undertake the like labours in whatſoever I ſhall ſuppoſe may conduce to publicke utility.*

Vale.

TO THE READER.

YOu may perhaps wonder (gentle Reader) to see mee adde this little abortive to the importunate shewne of so many Bookes, which (as the Souldiers of Cadmus) rise up, and iuste each other, appearing and perishing in a moment. And truly I must confesse, that this conceit had almost perswaded mee to commit Paricide, and (as the Lamias) to smother mine owne Creature in his Cradle. For it being perhaps like those untimely Productions, which according to Physicall tenets are not vitall: it had beene more advantagious for him to have received death with Patience, than to have expected it with Apprehension; specially since parents have absolute power of

life and death over the babes of their braine, and that in this case onely, a voluntary death may with honour prevent, an ignominious end. But fatherly affection taking advice in favour of his children, hath suppressed this first motion, perswading me it tasted more both of Humanity and conveniencie to abandon it, than to kill it. Now whether Reason hath rightly advised me, or Selfe-love deceived mee, I blame not my Friend. If any fault bee committed, I desire not they should beare the blame, I will therefore expose it to thy Iudgement, and lay it open to thy mercie: It may happen upon the like good Fortune as those forlorne children doe, whose hazard often proves more advantagious to them than their Parents providence; their Fates relieving the infelicitie of their birth: but howsoever it shall please God to dispose thereof, I dedicate it to his Honour, and thy service, and the designe it hath to become usefull to those who please to entertaine it, will (as I hope) cause it to deserve from them, if not praise, yet at least favour and pardon. The subiect is not new, as touching the matter, but onely in the invention, order, stile, and way of handling the

same. Now to the end to deliver thee a just account of my designe, and that you may know what you are to expect from mee in this worke, and how I proceed; I am to let you understand that here I speake of the Politicall Art, *as* Cicero *did of the* Oratorial, *in his Book,* De Oratore, *where he rather treateth of the Eloquent, than of Eloquence; of the Orator than of this Art: so my object in this discourse doth not properly touch upon the Art of* Policy, *but on the* Politicke *person; not on the matter, but the man, not on the Formes, Lawes, or Maximes of States, but on the vertues and qualities proper for him who governes by his Councell, or by administring Iustice, under the Authority of a soveraigne. Now since God is the finall end of man, and consequently whatsoever concerneth man, the soule and body, the spirituall and temporall, ought equally to ayme at God: and for the taking a true sight, to receive the rule and conduct thereof from his divine Law, I therefore consider* Politicke *Vertues, with the Order, habitude, and reference they ought to have to this finall end. Since humane Society, whether Ecclesiasticall, or Civill, ought onely to*

tend to the happy societie of Saints, and that in vaine the Ecclesiasticall part endeavoreth to draw them thereto, if the Civile divert them.

The Name. *Arist. Non est amicitia inter Deum & homines.*

The same Subiect giveth it the Name of Christian Politicks; for the Pagan Philosophers who have treated upon this Subiect, having not acknowledged God as the finall End of man, but holding there could not be any amity or correspondency betweene two so infinitely distant: they have therefore not referred, either civill society, or the direction thereof to this end. So that Christians, who knowing and adoring the true God, and apprehending by Revelation his great love towards us, and how he being our Center and Beatitude, we ought to referre all to him: cannot in this case finde in the Books of the ancient Sages, any exact, or perfect rule herein, but are to deduce their principles from a higher spring, and to level their marke at the true obiect, if they desire to draw a true and direct line. Besides (as the Apostle saith) IESVS CHRIST is the onely Corner stone that ought to be placed: which is to be understood, not onely of what concern...

Faith,

ith, but of what soever belongeth to manners, ſe, adminiſtration of Offices, and conduct of affaires.

The order and diviſion of this Diſcourſe followeth the nature and quality of the ſubiect; and as the Politicke life conſiſteth not but in Action; and ſince in every Action three things are neceſſarie, that is to ſay, What we are to do, our Will, and Power to effect the ſame: ſo doe I divide all my Worke into three parts. The firſt, whereof treateth of the qualities cauſing the abilitie, to know what is requiſite or profitable for publicke good. The ſecond ſpeaketh of ſuch parts as are fitting for the perfectionating the honeſtie, and integritie to will, and deſire the good hee knoweth. The laſt diſcourſeth of ſuch ſufficiencies as adde vigor towards the production thereof. The Wiſdome, Love, and Power of God governeth all things on Earth. The light, heat, and force of the Sunne inſpire ſoule and life into all this Elementary World. Wiſdom, Goodneſſe, and Power, are the three motions in Policy. *Theſe are the three darts of* Iupiters *Thunder, the three tines of* Neptunes *Trident, the three Lillies, adorning the Armes of our*

Funiculus triplex difficile rumpitur

King. *It is the triple cord whereof the wiseman speaketh, very hardly to be broken.*

The Style.

As for my stile or way of writing, I *have desired to follow the iudgement of that Romane, who sayes,* The most efficacious way of speaking or writing is to ioyne Eloquence to VViſedome, perſwaſive words, to firm and ſolyde reaſons. *And in this sort have all the Antients proceeded, not Ethnicks onely, but the first Fathers, likewise of the Greeke and Latine Church. The meerely Scholasticall straine is good, and profitable in other subiects: but in this it would appeare over punctuall and smallie civill: and the Orator onely adorned with a pomp of ill-placed words, tends rather to ostentation than instruction. But when both these, the one having quitted her strictnesse, and roughnesse; the other her colours and curiositie, doe unitedly ioyne (in the same Oration) the one by contributing sinewes, the other ornaments; the one force, the other lively Graces; the one what profiteth, the other what pleaseth; they iointly yeeld what severally they are unable to affoord: Flowers and Fruit, Pleasure and Profit.* But *though* I *be farre from attayning this point; yet*

have I (at least) endeavoured to approch: It being sufficient glory for me to have known and followed the better for me. Those who onely affect rhapsodies of resemblances, adaptations, similitudes, and heaped Authorities, who frame not a body, but a monster of discourse, shall not peradventure finde here wherewith to satisfie their conceptions. For I will at first confesse I have not imployed my time in searching common places, nor in turning over the tables of Bookes, to swell my volumes with the spoyles of others. The precise and necessary authorities for the proofe of what I speake seeme to me sufficient, leaving superfluities to those who are at better leasure to transcribe whole Authors, and to cause the world daily to see the Metempsychosis or transmigration not of Soules from one bodie to another, but of bookes from one paper to another. Or to imitate that Romane Emperour, who appropriated to himselfe the pourtraicts of the gods, by onely taking away the head and title, substituting his owne in their stead. Besides, I will not defend this Booke from the Tongues of Zoiles, and detractors, (as ordinarily men doe) since it

were

were a vanity couched under pretext of Feare, to suppose so small a Work as this, were worthy to be assaulted, and a meere fancie to forge Enemies: and as in Theaters to arme them with intention to assaile them. It were too presumptuous an attempt, and no lesse than to usurpe not upon the persons onely, but even upon the spirits of a more violent Empire than that of Tyrants, should I seeke to force the liberty of judgements with purpose to subject and captivate them to private opinions. Let therefore (who please) approve of what I write, or reject it who list. Let every man remaine free in his owne conceipt, permitting me to rest at liberty in my good and honest intention, inciting me to contribute my poore endeavors to Gods glory, and publick utilitie.

Farewell.

TO THE MOST ILLVSTRIOVS, AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER, MY LORD; THE CARDINALL OF VALETTE, ARCHBISHOP OF TOLOSE.

My LORD,

Behold a young Eagle, which his Father presents before the rayes of the rising Sunne, to trie if his vigour bee sutable to his Courage. Hee is Eagle-like in daring to soare so high, and in that the Lustre of your new Purple, causing you to shine as a rising Starre in the French Church darting upon him doth not dazle him. But should hee Encounter the awefull Eye of your censure, presuming to implore the gracious aspect of your benignity. I alreadie see his mis-fortune, and must confesse, that Rashnesse hath ruined the Childe, and blind Affection the Father. But supposing this disaster, yet may the first notwithstanding frame his excuse out of his small Experience, the second upon Nature: the one and the other upon

their Zeale and Devotion to your name. But they expect a more favorable Event. Hoping the Orient of your Glory wil prove no lesse gracious, than that of the Sunne, never shewing it selfe hot, or scorching upon his first appearance, but rather milde and favourable, strowing the earth with Pearles and Roses. Their hope and confidence is not a little increased, in that TOZOSA (Mother to the Author) acknowledging your Grace as her lawfull Pastor, this Worke (in that respect) seemes not so properly to be presented, as payd unto you. Since the Law saies, the tree belongs to the field, and that the fruits thereof depend not onely on the tree, but on the soyle also. The Field therefore being yours, the Tree and Fruits are likewise yours. But if the fruit bee not well relished, or distastefull, the Tree committed to your care, receiving (as the Apostle saith) *its watering from your hands, and its increase from God*, may happily more prosperously (hereafter) fructifie to his Glory, and your service. If you daigne to accept it from him who desires ever to be esteemed

My *Lord*,

Your Lordships most humble and most obedient Servant

E. MOLINIER.

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CHRI-

CHAP.

CHRISTIAN POLITICKS.

The first Booke.

Of those vertues which make a Politicke sufficiencie.

CHAP. 1.

The Preface and division of all this worke into three members or parts.

IT is reported that an ancient Philosopher, discoursing in a publike assembly before *Hanibal* of the Art Military, and of the vertues requisite in a great Commander, ravished the whole auditory with admiration; but from that famous

Captaine hee received onely ſcorne : I ought in a like ſubject to expect the like diſgrace, ſhould I enter theſe Liſts, incited by the ſame motive of idle oſtentation. But my deſire to be profitable and not to appeare, being the principall Engine giving motion to my Pen. I beſeech all ſuch who perhaps may wonder at the unſuitableneſſe of the title (which this Treatiſe ſeemeth to beare, with the condition of the Author) not to reflect upon the Writer, but to conſider what he writes : ſince it were not reaſonable, the Artificers name ſhould by way of prejudice bring diſfavour or diſgrace upon his worke. Beſides, (the cauſe being more nearely examined) there will not appeare any ſo great diſproportion betweene them, as is ſuppoſed. For not to alledge that the treating of Policy appertaineth to the Civil-Lawyer, is permitted to the Philoſopher, and is not inconvenient for the Divine, who contemplateth the primary cauſe, as it is the rule and meaſure of all things, I will onely in generall affirme, that the Theoricall and Vniverſall conſideration of Ver-

tues,

tues, whether Politicke Oeconomicall or particular, to be both honeſt and profitable to all men who have the faculty eyther to argue, or diſcourſe: though the practicall part of the Politicke appertayneth onely to thoſe, who beſides knowledge have authority, practice and experience. Policy affordeth not offices, nor offices practice, nor practice experience but to a few onely. But God hath beſtowed reaſon upon all, and ſtudy acquireth knowledge to divers: and what the former put in execution upon caſuall occurrents of particular affaires, the latter contemplate in immutable principles, in primitive cauſes, and univerſall verities. If therefore it be lawfull not onely for Pylots who have ſtood at the Helme amidſt the Winds and tempeſts to treat of Navigation; but for *Geographers* likewiſe, who never ſaw Sea, but ſhadowed in Mappes, nor Tempeſts but painted; If it be allowed thoſe to ſpeake of Muſicke, who never have eyther governed nor ſo much as ſung in Quire or Conſort: And if divers diſpute with much approbation both

of *Phisicke, Geometrie, Limming*, and *Architecture*, who never toucht rule, to square a stone, pensil to sute a colour, compasse to trace a line, or sicke person to dyet, why should any finde it strange for those who live remote from publike affaires, in rest and peace, to employ their spare time in considering the qualities requisite for the right ordering these severall vocations: since of all arts and disciplines liberall and mechanicall, (though the Action belong but to a few) yet may the Contemplation appertaine to all.

But to enter upon the matter, and to use the grave saying of the Angelicall Doctor St. *Thomas*: As man never performed any thing of greater consequence, than the erecting of Communalties, Republiques, and Empires; so could they not execute any thing of more eminency, than rightly to governe the same. Now if the establishment of Graces be the Master-peece of humane industry, doubtlesse the right and just government thereof may well be accounted the most exact proose of humane wisdome.

As

As Gods providence appearing in the perticular conduct even of least matters, shineth yet most gloriously in the universall administration of the Vniverse: so humane wisdome shewing it selfe in the right ordering of our private actions, is yet more perspicuous in the government of a Family, but of greatest luster in the exact direction of the generall body of Civill societie. For good is alwayes by so much the more eminent, by how much it is more capable to extend and diffuse it selfe. Corporall things do sufficiently shew us this ground; that the sight ableſt to extend it selfe to most objects, is the sharpest. That hand to be the strongest, which throweth the farthest. That taste to be the best tempered which can distinctly discover the difference of most relishes. That fire to be most active, that is able not onely to consume wood and stone, but water also though its contrary, as it is sayd of the fire of Thunder. And that light to be most lively and cleare, which doth most communicate it selfe. Briefly, all corporeall things of greatest extent in their action, are

likewise of most vigour in their nature. The like may be observed in spirituall matters: since that Vnderstanding which pierceth the pith of most truthes is most solid. That Memory strongest, which conserveth most species. That Iudgement of most capacity which is most universall. That Wisedome greatest which apprehendeth most reasons. And that Prudence most divine which can dexteriously manage greatest affaires. The vertue therefore which employeth it selfe in the conduct of a private life onely, is inferiour to that which reflects upon the Government of many: but that which undertaketh publique rule, ought to exceed all the rest, and to have so much the more abilities as it ought, the farther to extend it's actions. But to handle this subject with more order and perspicuity, before I proceed, I intend to frame and lay for a Basis and foundation of all this discourse, a generall division of Politicall vertue divided into three members or parts, which as with three severall stages shall perfect this little fabrick. Those three members are three rankes or orders

orders of qualities requisite to perfectionate Politicall vertue. The first affordeth sufficiency and capacity; the second a good disposition and honesty, the third vigour and gracefulnesse. Those of the first ranke, instruct the Vnderstanding to know what is convenient for the publike good. Those of the second, dispose the will to desire, love, and search the knowne good. Those of the last, adde force and efficacy to be able to execute, and produce to the Worlds eye, the good we know, will, and love. To know, to will, and to effect good, are the three perfections of God the worlds moover and governour; so as among men, who so hath the greatest share in these three perfections commeth neareſt God, and is most worthy, as most capable to afford (by his counsels) motion to the authority which swayeth Empires. Wisedome, Prudence, and the vertues thereon depending, making a man sufficient and capable; thereby acquireth to him the first of these three perfections: Iustice and her assistant vertues, making him good and upright, affordeth him the second:

Autho-

Authoritie, succesſe, fortitude, courage and eloquence, arming and adorning him both for perſwading and executing good, addeth the laſt. Theſe three ſorts of qualities ſhall make up the three bookes of this Treatiſe. Let us begin with thoſe of the firſt ranke, and firſt with *Wiſedome*.

Chap. 2.

Of Politick Wiſedome.

THe Antients have long diſputed whether or no a wiſe man ought to intermeddle in publique affaires. But I ſee not the ground of their doubt; for neceſſarily either wiſe men muſt manage the ſame, or fooles muſt miſgovern all; either muſt the eye conduct the body, or the feet miſguide it: The Sunne muſt lighten the earth, or darkeneſſe over cloud it. What the Sunne is to the world, and the eye to the body, the like is the wiſe man in Civill Societies; having received

received from God both more wisdome to govern, and more dexterity to conduct than other men: since it appertayneth to knowledge to direct, and to ignorance to follow prescripts. See we not in Nature, how God being the primary reason, is likewise the principall Rule, Law, and Resort of the motions in all things, which being in their order so well disposed, in their course so regulated, in their tranquillity so constant, in their relation and connexion so admirable, cause even the blindest to see, and the most insensible to perceive, that a soveraign wisdome guideth them? See we not how under this primary increated Vnderstanding, (namely the *First Mover*) the created Intelligencies move the Heavens, and are as Soules not united, but assisting & directing, giving as it were, life to these great bodyes, who regulate their revolutions, who circle their courses, and cause the braull of their contrary motions to fall into the concordancy of so just a cadence, as *Aristotle* himselfe acknowledgeth such a harmony in so great a contrariety could not possibly proceed

Wisdome and Reason move & govern all in this world, in man the works of men, in assistance and in art: It is therefore a great confusion and against nature when ignorance & rashnesse rule in Policies.

ceed from any rash or sudden encounter, but from the sage conduct of some intellectuall spirit. Perceive we not how (in man) Reason either doth or ought to conduct, both the will, the appetite, the senses, the members, the body, the passions, affections, habitudes, vertues, cogitations, words, actions, resorts, motions, and al the œconomy of this worlds abridgement? Is it not apparant that humane reason governes all this sublunary world, guideth all the inferiour creatures, appeaseth the Lyons fury, surmounts the Elephants force, reacheth the Eagle-high flight, danteth the Tigers rage, bridleth the Horses roughnesse, slayes the Buls mad heat, applieth to his particular use the most indomitable beasts, and causeth that to become as it were reasonable by direction, which is otherwise unreasonable by nature and extraction? Is it not evident, how in all the parts both of Art and Science, Reason is the first mover; and how she disposeth Words in *Grammar*, Clauses in *Rhetorick*, Cadencies in *Poetry*, Arguments in *Logick*, Reasons in *Naturall*, Vertues in *Morall*, Lawes in

in *Civill*, Measures in *Geometry*, Numbers in *Arithmetick*, Tunes in *Musick*, Drugs in *Physick*, Stones in *Architecture*, Colours in *Painting*, and Materials in all sorts of *Workmanships*. A marvellous thing that the wit of man communicateth a kinde of reason even to insensible things, as wood, stones, iron, and the like, in bestowing on them so beautifull an order in these works, which, as those of *Dedalus*, do insensible move, and do live inanimate, and (though unreasonable) do yet carry upon them the Workmans understanding. If therefore Reason move, and govern all in Nature, Science, and Art; should not Reason likewise in civill society direct all? And that the wife who in this great body is as Reason and the Intelligent Soule by his wisdome, should also bee the moving Soule thereof by his counsels? Is it fitting Reason being the leading card in petty matters, that folly should proceed in important occasions? or that imprudency give the motion? or ambition preoccupate the place wisdome ought to possesse? or that rashnesse snatch away the steerage or

which Reason should guide? *I have seene a great vanity under heaven*, (saith the Spirit of God in the Scripture) *fools rays'd upon the Tribunall, & the wise sitting on the ground:* it is like as to see the Saylor at the Poop, and the Pilot at the Prow. But yet a slender talent of wisdome is not sufficient for such as ought (by their counsels) to procure publick peace, and by their judgements to maintain justice among men, since it is necessary that whatsoever communicateth any goodnes should possesse the same in eminency. As God doth essence; the *Primum mobile*, motion; the Sunne, light; Fire, heat; Musk, good sent; Salt, quick savour; and the Fountain, water: whatsoever seeketh to diffuse, ought to bee well filled and redound to it selfe to suffice others; as Nature first rayseth plants and other creatures to their perfect essence, before she forme in them seeds for the communication of their essence by propagation. so wisdome ought to have well ripened and perfected judgement, before it bee able to produce the seeds of sage counsels, whence springs the good and tranquility of States.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

That Politick Wisdome is rare, and what parts are requisite for the framing thereof.

BVT Wisdome (as saith *Aristotle* in his Ethicks) being an excellent knowledge of things, especially of most high and universall matters, as it ought to be the Squire, the Rule, and Measure of the meanest and most particular affayres, (such as those ordinarily happening in civill affayres) so is it requisite for the raysing it selfe to a higher pitch, it be adorned with a capable spirit, a powerfull judgement, a strong nature, a deeper study, and a very great experience, qualities (which though separate) are not very ordinary, being united, are admirable. Nature without study, is by so much the more dangerous, by how much it is more violent; for as without husbandry the fatnesse of any field serveth only to bring forth the more brambles, which choak the good seed; so without study, which cultivateth

nature, the strength of spirit serves only to produce the more violent passions, which darken reason, and hinder it from seeing cleare into affayres. It is true, experience and honesty may in some sort rectifie this fault, but never either sufficiently, nor perfectly repayre it: for still (without Science) experience remayneth blinde, honesty feeble, and both of them faulty. Honesty desires good, but knowes it not, experience knows it, yet only by the events which are but particulars, and daily changeable, and not by immoveable principles, universall, and applyable to all occurrents, so as experience without science, walketh still either fearfully or rashly, but knowledge seeing all things in their sources and infallible causes perfecteth nature, guideth honesty, lightneth experience, and causeth it to march confidently upon all occasions, to the end it be not timorous, and understandingly, lest it be precipitant.

On the other side, study without a strong nature, is rather chargeable than usefull, as solid meates to a sickly stomack, oppressing it

it with his ponderosity, instead of nourishing it by naturall digestion; and in truth, wits for the most part resemble severall soyles, the strong beare good corne, weake earth either choakes the graine, or change it into cockle. A good naturall wit and study matching together, open the passage to high employments. But before exercise have put them into practice, they are as tooles in the hand, or reasons in the thoughts of a workman, who hath Art, but no practice; so as without experience these two qualities, though right commendable, are not yet sufficient to frame what is learned wisdome, being an excellency in the knowledge of things. One attayneth the Art of Fencing upon the Theater, Limming upon the Picture, and (as *Plato* sayth) the Potters Art is finished upon his earthen ware. A good naturall wit disposeth study, formeth experience, perfecteth man, and these three parts happily united, make up a right wiseman, requisite for the conduct of weighty affayres. And as three things are hurting for tillage, fertility, or soyle goodnesse of seed,

and

& the husbandmans industry, so (in point of our subject) these three peeces are necessary; a good wit, a better instruction, and Art acquired by use. Wherefore it is, that in a well ordered warre, souldiers are never raysed to the highest ranks, before they have passed thorow the meanest offices, to the end that having learned this exercise in inferiour charges, they may come thorowly instructed to more important places: So likewise in well policed States, highest dignities are never conferred, but upon such who have gayned experience in meaner offices. The ancient Romans mounted not at once to the Consulship, but by degrees, as by the Oedility, the Tribunat, the Pontificat, these being the steps whereby they ascended, and as schooles of honour where those were framed for affayres, whom they after intended to make capable for the government of so mighty a Republique. The faults of Potters who work only on clay and sand, are not greatly hurtfull; but those of the Physitians, who exercise their Art upon the bodies of men, are pernicious, and utterly irreparable. They,

learne

learne to our great dangers (saith an antient Author very elegantly) they make their experience by our deaths, and their prentiship breaketh no pots, but cost mens lives. In petty places, faults are not heavy, but may easily be reformed. In eminent offices, they are of farther consideration, and often without remedie. There is no failing there the second time, the first errour is irremediable; wherefore the well ordered Policie ought to imitate Nature, which (in her operations) worketh slowly, and step by step, causing the blade to come from the graine, the tree from the graft, from the tree, the blossom, and from blossomes, fruit; so ought Policie to raise great persons from one degree to another, to the end that having made their assayes in meaner matters, they may finish their master-pieces in more eminent affairs; as Gold-smiths who make tryall of their skill upon Tinne, or Silver, before they worke in gold or pretious stones.

Chap. 4.

That true Politicall wisedome is to be received from God and heaven, against the Machievalists.

Plants though fastened in the earth by their rootes, yet take they their vigour and influences from heaven. Politicke wisedome and the regulating of civill affaires have relation to the earth: but they ought to take their directions from heaven, and their grounds from the eternall decrees of Gods wisedome. For a good wit, humane knowledge, and experience, doe but imperfectly frame it, if divine lawes doe not finish it in the essence, and give it perfection. Humane affaires are its matter, but divine verities are to afford it the forme; as pretious stones receive their substance onely from the earth, but take their forme and beauty from the Sunne. This is right necessarie for all, but yet chiefly to be wished in some

ſome particular perſons, who but over often deriue their maxims from earth, their wiſedome from fleſh, and their propoſitions onely from what falleth under the ſenſes, as though diuine reaſons ought not to be the rule of humane, or as though the earth ſhould not receiue its light from heauen, or as if God were not as well the God of States, as of the Church, as if the ſoule only ſhould acknowledge his law, and the body follow concupiſcence, or as though it were lawfull (as the Prophet *Elias* ſpeaketh) to halt on both ſides, here on Gods ſide, there on *Baals*; or as if counſell could be either juſt againſt originall veritie, profitable againſt God, or permanent againſt his power. *God reproueth ſuch counſels* (where he ſaith) *they haue dreamed counſels which they are not able to eſtabliſh. There is no counſell againſt God*, (ſaith the ſpirit of God in holy Writ) God ſpeaketh it, Nature proclaimeth it, Reaſon ſheweth it, and if we be not blinde, the experience of all ſtates and ages verifieth the ſame. *Pharaoh* by a falſe maxim would needs bandie againſt God: what got he? ſeuerall

Examples for the confirmation of this veritie.

plagues and the totall subversion of his Army. The Kings of *Israel*, often enterprised to establish Idolatrie; what fruit reapt they from their designes: ruine and desolation. *Aman* (Councellour to King *Assuerus*) proposed to his Master (under pretext of State) to extirpate the people of God: what was his end? the Halter and Gallowes. *Antiochus* endeavoured by all meanes hee could to abolish the worship of the true God: what was his gaine? wormes, death, and despaire. *Herod* out of a vaine feare, tooke a wicked way to support his state: what advanced he? the glory of *Iesus Christ*, and his owne confusion. The *Iewes* out of a farre fetcht apprehension of the arrivall of the *Romans*, and of the losse of their own state, crucified the Messias. What befell them? they sought the assurance of their Citie, and advanced the destruction thereof. They layd on the *Romans* the fault of their execrable fact, and God made use of the same men as instruments of his justice against them. The Emperours by the advice of their Vlpians, their Sages, and *Cæsarean* Lawyers, raised

an infinite of persecutions against the rising Church, under pretext of publique good to the Empire: what have all these deluges of bloud done against this Arke? save onely that which the deluge of waters did against the Arke of *Noe*. *The waters were multiplied* (saith *Genesis*) *and the Arke raised*. What have all the counsels of so many worldly Sages performed against Gods designes? they have falne under his force, shewed their owne weakenesse, and have aduanced his puissance. *Julian* transported with fury, renewing the warre against Gods Church in a more bloudy manner than ever, forbidding Christian schooles, favouring the Iewes, re-edifying their Temples, re-erecting Idols, honouring Art Magicke and superstition, imploying whatsoeuer either worldly wisedome could not invent, or diviliſh malice advance, he imagined (it may be as did the Giants in fained stories) to drive God out of the world, there to raigne without rivall: But a direfull Catastrophe followed his damnable counsels, a sudden, unthought of, and unknown shot did shut up his daies,

haling his soule from his body, and drawing from his dying mouth this publique confession of the vanitie of those designes hee had plotted against God: *Thou hast overcome O Galilean!* See, and survay all such who in the administration of States and Empires, have either strayed from the law of God, or banded themselves against the Almighty, to follow the fooliſh maxims of *Machiavel*. If their counsels have not been (at all times) not onely vaine against God, but pernicious to themselves, and whether they haue not produced great ruines, remarkable mischiefes, and lamentable conclusions: a fitting harvest of seed so soule.

CHAP.

Chap. 5.

Reasons to prove the same.

GOD is Author of States, he will likewise be the director, his providence is the Basis, his will is that his law should be the rule: hee hath laid the foundation, and is jealous lest humane wisedome should (by fooliſh maximes) bereave him of the conduct. Whence can their conservation come, but from whence their establishment proceedeth? who can preserve our being but he who gaue it? God hath founded Empires, establiſhed Kingdomes, he hath consecrated Kings, conferred Majestie upon their persons, vigour on their lawes, force to their iuſtice, terrour to their Armes, (euen to ſuch a height) as their decrees (though temporall) draw notwithſtanding from the very authoritie the diuine lawes allow them a ſpirituall effect. It tieth the conſcience (ſaith the Apoſtle) and obligeth it under eternall

God is the founder of States.

Wherfore he ought to be the director, and it is fitting his law should be the rule of their conduct: a reason deduced at large, both by demonstration and authority

nall paine. For though men by nature equall, yet so it is that being borne to liue in society, and this societie not being able to subsist without peace, peace without union, union without order, order without distinction, distinction without dependencie, or dependencie without authoritie: the same nature therefore which made men equall, hath immediately commanded them to bee subject to one head, and to wave their naturall equalitie for the avoyding of confusion. Now it is a certaine and a generally receiued maxime among the wise: that all the uniuersall and generall propensions in Nature, came from God. It is an uniuersall inclination in humane Nature, to be subject to some one for maintenance of order and societie. Conduct presupposeth the authority giuen to that man who is constituted for the gouernment of others, so as by necessarie consequence, temporall power is derived from God: since it proceedeth by the law of Nations, from the law of Nature. This naturall demonstration is confirmed by divine authoritie: *There is no power which proceedeth*

not

not from God, sayth the Apostle to the *Romans*. God himselfe in the Creation framed not many men at once who might the sooner have stored the earth: he made but one man onely: yea, so as that he made not man and woman together of earth, but first drew man from the earth, and extracted woman from man; to shew (as *St. Chrysostome* divinely noteth) how his intention was to establish Domination, Principalitie, and Monarchy among men, and to reduce them all under one superiour, causing them all to proceed from one onely, to the end all might depend upon him. He then hath at all times instituted temporall Princes over his chosen people; first Patriarches, then Dukes, (after this) Iudges, and in conclusion Kings: his providence concluding in Monarchie as the most perfect forme of government; As Nature which proceedeth by degrees in her works; first maketh Mercury out of the vapours of the earth, after, out of Mercury, Silver, and out of silver, Gold; (the Crowne and perfection of all Mettals:) so IESVS CHRIST comming af-

ter into the world, hath (by his word) confirmed temporall authoritie, commanding to give unto *Cæsar* what is due to *Cæsar*; and the Apostle enjoyneth us under paine of eternall damnation to yeeld to our temporall Soveraignes, obedience, tribute, respect, honour, and our prayers tribute, because he defends our lives and goods from violence; Obedience, since he deriveth his power from God; Respect, in that he is his Minister; Honour, by reason hee beareth his Image; Prayers in reflection upon the great need he hath of Gods assistance in defending us. Divine, and Evangelicall law obligeth us to yeeld him all these duties. Obedience in regard of his authority, tribute to defray his great charges, respect in regard of his Ministery, Honour for his dignity, Prayers for his necessities.

If then, both Nature, Reason, and the Evangelicall law, shew us so apparantly, how God hath established all States, doth both defend, maintaine, and hath so particular care over them: Is it not reason all States should range themselves to the rule of his

his law, to the end, that as his providence hath erected them, his truth may conserve them, his discipline raise them, and his justice cause them to flourish? Is it not requisit that from whence they derive their originall, from thence likewise they should expect their continuance, and that these heavenly plants, whose rootes are extracted from Heaven, should thence draw their influence to the end to receive life? Since the power of those who governe States is derived from God, it is necessary that the wisdome which directeth this power should be deduced from the Law of God. Whence their authority proceedeth, thence should their Counsell come; to the end their beginning and stabilitie, may proceed from the same spring, and that as well in Policie as Nature, production and preservation may flow from the same Fountaine. It is a Philosophicall Maxime in the Metaphysickes, that each thing drawes nutriment from whence it extracteth essence. Living creatures who have taken their essence from the Elements, from thence receive their a-

Ex eisdem nutrimur ex quibus sumus.

liment. The tree taking birth from the earth, doth from thence likewise receive life. The fruit owing his extraction to the tree, dependeth thereon for its maturity. The mother suckleth the child she produceth; the Sunne affords perfection to the gold it hath formed: So as all States holding their being from God ought from him to expect their growth. And since his providence hath given the inspiration to those who have established them, his truth must necessarily afford the illumination, his illumination the law, and his law the rules to such as governe them. *O God* (saith *David*) *give thy judgement to the King, and thy justice to the Kings Sonne.* Thou hast imparted unto him part of thy power, bestow likewise upon him some parcell of thy wisdome: his authority proceedeth frō thy establishment, let his conduct come from thine illumination. *Thy justifications are my counsels* (said the same King) I have taken my directions from whence I had my power, to the end I may draw my conservation frō whence I had my being. So he acknowledged afterward, that the

the counsels he received frō Gods law, were the foundation of his greatnes, and the basis of the obedience which his people yeeld to his lawes, confessing that it is not his industry, not his prudence, not his forces, not his armes, not his treasures, not the lustre of his magnificence, nor all the pompous vassals of his Royall Majestie; but it is God himselfe, whose providence conserveth in the hearts of his Subjects, the respect they owe to his authority. *It is God who subjecteth my people under me.* And truly who cannot but cleerely perceive that it is not a work of humane wisdome, but a master-peece of the Divine providence, that so infinite a multitude of men so different in humors, opinions, affections, and interests, should unite, and assemble themselves to become subject to one man, to obey his lawes, follow his motions, depend on his pleasure, commit to his justice, their meanes, their honours, and lives: That so great a submission could be maintained amidst the naturall pride of men, such respect among so many froward and refractory humours, so excellent order

Qui subdit populum meum sub me.

in the throng of so many contrary passions, so firme an unity in so manifest an Antipathy:

If the order we observe in the words contexture hath taught Philosophers (as the Apostle sayth to the *Romans*) the guidance of a Soveraigne wisedome, I suppose the so admirable order discovered in States, and Common-wealthes doth no lesse declare the same; And if the harmony resulting in Nature out of the contrariety of Sphericall motions; from the quality of the Elements, and Elementarie bodyes, cannot otherwise proceed but from the direction of a supream wisdome; the peace and concord arising in the regulating of so great a diversity of humours, affections, oppositions rancounters, events, and changes, can no way proceed from any meaner conduct. All whatsoever, greatnesse, power, lawes, menaces, feare, recompences, penalties, and what else (the inventions of humane wisdome out of God) are able to exact, or draw from men by force, or win of them by a sweet hand, is but constrained not voluntarie; painted,

not

not pure; fraile, not permanent; The Nature of Man is so noble and generous, as there is none but God onely who can truly subject the same. *Make thy selfe* (sayth *David*) *a Law-maker over men to the end they may know they are men.* It is God alone who is able to humiliate the spirit of man, to abate his sterneneſſe, tame his heart, and cause him to acknowledge his condition, and the respect he oweth those he hath placed over others; who hold his place, represent his person, and beare his Image. The true Wisdome (therefore) of such who by their counsels give incitation to Princes, and by Princes to severall States, is to take their motion from God, their rule from his will, and their counsell from his word, as (in truth) there is neyther true counsell, nor true light, save that onely which (as the Apostle Saint IAMES sayth) floweth from the Father of light. *All wisdome deriveth it selfe from God*, sayth the Scripture.

Heaven is the Author of all, both corporal and spirituall light, the Sun is the light of the

the one, God the fountaine of the other. The Eye which taketh not its from God, Heaven, is in darkneſſe, and the Vnderſtanding which receiveth not his from God followeth a falſitie. *Vaine are all men who order not themſelves according to the knowledge of God*; ſaith the ſpirit of God in Scripture. The world may well terme them Sages, God calls them *vaine*. What counſels can come from lies and vanity, eyther for the good or honour of Empires? That which it ſelfe is not at all, how can it confer or conſerve eſſence? Can ſoliditie proceed from a non-ſubſiſtance? or firmitude, from no foundation? Honour, from what truth condemneth? or good from what God reproveth?

Chap. 6.

The sequel of the same Subject.

REason can not so much as understand these propositions; and God sayd unto his people by the mouth of *Samuel*, at what time he spake unto them concerning the establishment of their state: *Trust not in vaine things, which will not at all availe you, nor can deliver you because they are vaine.* 1. Reg. c. 12.

All the true good of man, both particular and publike, dependeth upon the sage conduct of good counsels, good counsels on true wisdome, and this true wisdome on God. Now since (according to Philosophicall Maxims) one cannot deliver an assured judgement of things, but in considering the reference, relation, and connexion they have with primary causes: God (therefore) who is this first cause, ought to be the primary object, and principall rule of all our judgements and counsels, if we desire to secure our judgements from error, and our

counsels from temeritie. So whatsoever men have at any time establisshed of good, or just in temporall lawes, eyther imprinted in them by Nature, or deduced by Reason, or knowne by inspiration, or manifested by revelation; if it stray from this principle, it is unjust; and what is unjust is violent; and what is violent cannot challenge the name of law. Whereupon St. *Augustin* in his book of *True Religion*, delivereth this advice and instruction to Statesmen: *The man* (saith he) *who counselleth, proposeth, or establisheth temporall Lawes, if he be an honest man, and a just, he first takes councel of the Eternall Lawes*: wherof it is unlawfull for any man to judge, all men being injoyned to follow the same, *to the end, that according to these immutable rules, he may see what he ought* (*considering the dispositions and necessities of times*) *either to command or prohibit*. An advice drawne from the commandement God made to the Kings and Iudges of *Israel*, to have at all times his law before their eyes, by reading, and in their hearts by meditation. As King *David* who sayd unto God. *Thy Word is as*

a Lamp to my feet, and as a light to my wayes.

This is the solid ground of the most eminent commendations we can give to the truly wise *Politician*, who over and above the naturall capacitie of spirit, and of human wisdome acquired by study, and experience of affaires, addeth divine knowledge which he taketh as the principall guide of all his motions, reasons, maxims, counsels, decrees, and actions; he doth not as the *Lesbian* builders, whereof *Aristotle* speaketh, who fitteth the Squire, or Ruler to the Stones; as they doe who seeke to accommodate God to affaires, and Iustice to times: but he fitteth and fashions the stones to the Squire or Ruler, affaires to God, and the times to Iustice. He imitateth good Pilots, who holding the hand on the helme, lift their eyes to heaven, to receive from the Pole the conduct of their Ships: so whilst he manageth the steering of civill affaires, he hath his eyes fixed on eternall verities, & upon the divine law, whence he taketh his directions. And as the High-Priest of the old law, drew the answers and Oracles he delivered to the people, from a

precious Stone he carried on his breast, which in a marveilous manner represented unto him Gods pleasure by its colour, sometimes red, at another time blacke; one while pale, then white, then changeable, according to occurrents: In like manner, the true wise man, taketh his counsels and resolutions from Gods Law, *a precious Topace* (as *David* termeth it) *not hung at his breast, but fastned to his heart. O God I have hid thy words in my heart*, saith he with *David*. There doth he finde (in eternall reasons) the true rule of things passing in all seasons, and contemplateth in immoveable verities, the constant *Idea* of whatsoever is subject to change and revolution; whence taking his measures, he (after) guideth the inconstant, by the constant, causing it to slide into stabilitie; the temporall, by the eternall; the figure of the world which passeth, by Gods verity, which is eternally permanent.

CHAP.

Chap. 7.

Of the meanes to conserve, and augment in the Soule, the light of this true Wisdome.

But to conserve and augment in the soule the light of this true wisdome, being the rule and measure of all things. It is necessary to make use of the Wisemans advice, and so to husband our houres as actions that we may spare (at least) some small time for consideration and contemplation: *He who taketh away sometime from affaires, to converse with himselfe, becometh more capable of Wisdome,* saith the spirit of God by the mouth of Wisdome. For to passe over in silence, that to yeeld our whole man to others, and never to injoy our selves, to give our selves to all, our selves excepted; to receive the whole world into the bosome of our solicitude, and onely to exclude the

Qui minoratur actu percipit Sapientiam. Eccles. 38.

reflection on our particular guidance, is one of those follies committed in the world under the name of wisdome: since (as St. *Bernard* saith) *He cannot be wise who is not so to himselfe*: I will onely say, there is not any thing so prejudiciall to action, as to be continually bent upon action without intermission. For as the corporall eye seeth not the objects touching it, but those onely more remote: so the understanding continually plunged in affayres, is not so quicke-sighted in occurrents, as his who sometimes retireth himselfe from publike action, beholding it aloose off by consideration: As it is reported, how the noyse which the waters of *Nile* make, do cause all those who live neere the fals or Cataracts to become deafe; Or as the Roman Orator in his booke *of the dreames of Scipio*, was of opinion, that the harmonious and musicall sound, resulting from the divers motions of the celestiall Spheres, is not by us understood, by reason the sound is so strong, so quicke and violent, that our eares are thereby deafned; Or as they who nourish silk-wormes, hinder those

Non est sapiens qui sibi non est. D. Ber. l. 2. de consid. c. 3.

little creatures from hearing the thunder, by the sound of brazen or iron vessels, when at any time it is excessive: So those who are continually amidst the tumults and tempests of affaires, become insensibly besotted, and deafe to the voice of Reason, and Gods law, which ought to give the conduct and motion to active life. Besides, experience teacheth us, that the eye having lost its quicknes with too much looking upon the light, recovers it againe in the darke: The spirit in like manner, dazled, weakened, and distracted among the multitude, and variety of affaires, ought to recollect and recover its force in the privacie of some small retreit. Moreover, see you not how the vapours rising from the earth, darken the Sun-light, and would utterly over-cloud it, did not the Sun recollecting its vigour, at length dissipat them by the point of his beames? In like manner, worldly affaires send forth certain mists, invironing the interiour eye, where the light of wisedome resideth, and by litle and litle covering the soule with darkenesse, transports it to inconsideration, and from thence

thence to a thousand stumbling blocks, forcing it to retire with shame, if the soule preventing this danger, did not now and then recollect it selfe, and by the attentive consideration of its estate, duty, and end, cause it to disperse those clouds which darken reason. This hath caused me to admire that excellent sentence of *Ezekiel* the Prophet. *That the earth is desolate, for that no man weeth consideration and reflection in his heart*, and he seemeth to say, that it is the onely sourse of all human errours, not onely in what concerneth eternall salvation, but even in what toucheth the conduct of temporall affaires, whether domesticall or publike. For whence arise so many mischiefes, ruines, and desolations, be it in families, Cities, or Estates, but only out of the want of wisdome among men, and whence this, but from the defect of consideration? It is a thing naturall; that as a stone cast into a calme and setled water, causeth there a circle, this circle a second, the second a third, this third maketh a fourth; Circle, after circle, till the water from one side to the other be all troubled: so worldly

objects

objects beat upō the senses, the senses touch the appetite, the appetite exciteth motions in the will, the will stirred, and tickled by delectation, darkeneth the Vnderstanding; disordered motions, engender desires; desires, adors; ardors, breed passions; passions, temeritie, temerities hatch follies; and from thence issue all the troubles, calamities, and disorders, falling out in the life of man: and all this happens by reason that men being incessantly busied out of themselves, eyther with pleasures, vanities, or affaires, never take time to recollect themselves; and (as the *Lamiæ* in faigned Stories) keepe the eye of their Reason fastened to the Gates of their Senses, and wittingly, either scorne or neglect to weare it within the interiour part of their house, thereby to consider, know, and regulate themselves. I say not this, as seeking thereby to send the Civill or Politicall Person into a Desart or Cloyster, but onely to give him the counsell which *Plato* gave to *Dionysius* King of *Sicil*, to take some houre in the day, at leysure to contemplate, not upon the subjects of vaine Philosophy,

Plato Epist. ad Dionys.

but upon the eternall verities of divine Wisdome. But the advice of Gods Spirit ought to be more efficacious, than the precepts of Philosophers: *Consider and see that I am God,* saith he by his Prophet, speaking in generall to all men: *Give* (saith God) *some ease to your occupations, to consider who I am, and how in comparison of me, all the rest is nothing at all, and shall be soone even as that which never was; That I am permanent, and how all other things are sliding and transitorie; That I am the first law, whereby all should be directed, the eternall veritie, whereto all should conforme themselves, the soveraigne power, under which all ought to tremble, the Wisdome all ought to acknowledge, the Iustice none can escape, the finall end, whereto all things should tend.* This consideration is a light, dissipating the Clouds of ignorance, a bridle restraining the rage of passions, a rod correcting excesses, a discipline composing our manners, an Oratle inspiring good counsels, a rule directing actions, a booke wherein a man doth insensibly, & with delight, learne the science of human and divine things. In

Vacate & videte quoniam ego sum Deus.

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this sort doth the Scripture propose the Patriark *Isaac* unto us; retiring and recollecting himselfe towards Sun-set, walking pensive, and solitary in his Garden. *Moses* the Law-maker, divided betweene contemplation and action, one while comming downe toward the people, and otherwhiles re-ascending toward God. The Iudge *Samuel*, sometimes giving sentence, then contemplating, after disposing of the affayres of *Israel*, and opening the eye of his Soule towards Heavenly illuminations. King *David* sometime giving lawes to his people, then meditating divine lawes. The wise *Salomon*, now deciding the sutes and controversies of his Subjects, and presently applying himselfe to the study of divine wisdome. Briefly whosoever have at any time managed state or temporall matters according to Gods rule, have at all times shared time betweene affaires, and recollection, betweene God and the world, betweene Earth and Heaven: as those Creatures called Amphibions, who are not alwayes in the water, nor continually on shore, but doe now and then converse

with Beasts on land, and presently take water joyfully and naturally to divide the Waves among other aquaticall Creatures. Now that which herein is to be observed, is, that even Pagan Politicians have acknowledged the necessity of these small intermissions in active life, to the end, to take some time for contemplation. For (not againe to repeat what I have formerly spoken, conserning the counsell given by *Plato* to *Dionysius* King of *Sicily*,) who knowes not what the Roman Orator writ, concerning the great *Scipio*, whom he represents unto us often solitary, and being never better accompanied than when he was alone by himselfe; beside, who hath not read how those ancient Law makers, *Numa*, *Zaleuxis*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and others, made use of frequent retirements, as well to reenforce their spirits, dissipated by the throng of affaires, as the better to discerne what was good and necessary, during this solitary tranquility, for the further authorisement of their lawes and decrees, by the esteeme of Religion. If therefore Heathens have attributed so much

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to meere opinions, what might Christians doe to manifest truth? I will now conclude this subject by a notable speech of Saint *Bernard* to *Eugenius* then Pope. *To the end your charity may be full and entire, exclude not your selfe from the bosome of that providence of yours, which receiveth all others: What availeth it thee to procure the good and salvation of all others, if this happen by the losse of thy selfe? Wilt thou alone be frustrated of thy private felicitie? All drinke at thy breast as at a publicke fountaine, and thy selfe remainest behinde, panting, and thirsty amidst thy owne waters? Remember (I beseech thee) I will not say alwayes, nor will I say often, yet at least sometimes, to allow thy selfe to thy selfe; Enjoy thy selfe with many, or at least after many.* And in another place: *Take example* (saith he) *of the soveraigne Father of all, who sending his WORD into the world, did yet retaine him nere his person. Your word, is your thought and consideration; which if it part from you, to imploy it selfe for the publike good, let it yet be in such sort, as it may still remaine within thee. That it communicate it selfe without leaving* D. Bern. l. 2 Eugenium.

thee void, and diffuse it selfe over others, without forsaking thy selfe.

Chap. 8.

Of other Vertues which cause a Politicke sufficiencie, and chiefly of Prudence.

Have sufficiently spoken of Wisdome, the smalnesse of this worke considered. I will therefore proceed to speake of other parts, instructing the Vnderstanding for the knowledge of such things as are necessary for publike good, and which finish the perfection of a publike sufficience. The Philosopher in his Ethicks, assigneth five kinds of intellectuall vertues, the Intellect, Science, Wisdome, Art, and Prudence. Intellect is no other than the habitude and disposition to know the primary principles, which are perceived by themselves, and presently apprehended by the intellectuall

Arist. l. 6. Eth.

power without the assistance of ratiocination. Science is a demonstrative habitude of necessarie things which cannot otherwise be, and this habitude is acquired by the discourse of Reason, sounding and searching the causes, thereby to know the effects: Now this knowledge of effects by the causes is called Science. Wisdome is a very perfect and exact Science, knowing both the consequences deduced from the principles, and the principles themselves with the most universall causes: so (according to the Philosopher) the excellent knowledge of every Science, Discipline, and Art may be called Wisdome. Art is an habitude and just reason of certaine workemanships which are to be made, and produced to the shew, as building and painting, with the like. Art reflecteth not upon the interiour residing in the soule, but on the action passing and flowing from the interiour understanding to imprint it selfe upon exteriour substances. Prudence is a just reason of the actions of humane life, and of what man ought to doe and practicke, according to his estate and

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condition. Now of these five habitudes or vertues which instruct and perfectionate the intellective power, Art suteth not with our subject: The Intellect and Science have bin cursorily touched, when I sayd, that a good wit, and the study of Letters were requisite as necessary parts for the forming of Wisdome. There now remaineth onely *Prudence*: which being the right rule of of human actions, is as it were the soule and life of the active, civill, and Politicke life. For Intellect, Science, and Wisdome, are onely serviceable for the understanding the universall reasons of things, and the true ends whereto they are to be referred. Prudence ought (after this) to apply these general reasons to the occurrencies & particularities of affaires, presenting themselves, and to finde out the convenient meanes to arrive to the proposed end. The Intellect, seeth the first principles, Science is acquainted with the universall causes of particular effects: VVisdome, is the perfection of the Vnderstanding, the flower and Creame of Science. Prudence is that which putteth in pra-

practise, the Intellect, Science, and Wisdome. The Vnderstanding affords the light. Science frames the reason, Wisedome perfecteth the knowledge Prudence directeth the action: briefly, Intellect, Science, and VVisdome, do show in grosse what is fitting to be effected, why it is to be done, and to what end it is to be undertaken. Prudence sheweth (in each particular action) how it is to be effected: the former doe onely propose the end: This: besides the way doth likewise afford the skill, and delivers unto us the conduct. This is that of which the Philosopher speaketh in his Ethicks, that it is the proper office of Prudence, to dispose the meanes to arrive to the end. The Vnderstanding searcheth it, Science findeth it, VVisdome sheweth it, but Prudence conducteth it.

Chap. 9.

Of the Necessitie, Excellencie, and Offices of politicke Prudence.

PRudence (as the Philosopher sayth in his Ethicks) regardeth (as its object) things either good or evill, profitable or pernicious, honest or reproveable in a man following his calling and charge, and it is proper to the prudent to consult, and solidly to advise with himselfe in each affaire, and particular action, what is fitting and convenient to the present subject, to his duty, ranke, and office. So as (to say truly) looke how requisite Art is for the workes of industry, so fitting is Prudence for the affaires of vertue. An ancient Authour termeth Prudence, the Art of living; Now to live as a man ought, is to live according to reason. A man without Prudence, is as a workeman without Art, who hath tooles

tooles in his hand, but wanteth art to make right use of them for the impression of convenient formes in the matter whereon he is to worke. Man likewise who hath Science and VVisdome without Prudence, seeth well the Reasons, and the end whereto he is to ayme, but is destitute of the right application of reasons, whereby to finde out the meanes, and attaine to the end; And as the unskilfull craftsman spoyles the matter thinking to polish it; so the imprudent man ruines affaires presuming to rectifie them; nor is there other difference, save onely that the former spoyles Iron, stones, wood, or some other matters of slight consideration; the other ruines himselfe, his particular fortunes, yea whole States and Empires if he have thereof the administration. VVherefore Saint *Ambrose* tearmeth Prudence, the fourse and fountaine of vertuous actions; and *Cassian* expounded this saying of the Gospell, *Thine Eye is the Lampe of thy Body*, understandeth by this eye, Prudence being the eye of the soule; Or if the understanding be the eye of the soule, and wisdome

D. Amb. l. 1. De offic. c. 27. Cas. Collat. 1. cap. 27.

the light of this eye; Prudence is the Apple of this Eye, and as the lampe of this light, distributing and disposing brightnesse to all the rest: and as the apple of the eye cleared by the light, illuminateth the whole body, shewes it the way, keeps it from stumbling, and directeth all his paces towards the end it aymeth at: so Prudence enlightned by wi dome, illuminateth the whole Soule, sheweth her the way to arrive to good, hindreth her from tripping, directeth her thoughts, guideth her motions, disposeth her counsels, regulateth her affections, ordinateth her powers, manageth her habitudes, arrangeth her vertues, and composeth her actions; since without Prudence, Understanding is vaine, Science unprofitable, and Wisdome idle, plaine dealing, faulty; zeale, indiscreet, justice, unjust, Force full of temerity, Temperance, distempered, all vertues become vices, and perfections, faults. For as wisdome is the eye of speculative life: so is Prudence the light of practicall Reason; and as without the light of wisdome, the understanding erreth in

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the knowledge of truth; so without the light of Prudence, it cannot but erre in the conduct of actions. It is the first office of Prudence to see what is to be done in the occurrence and circumstance of each particular case, then to finde out the meanes of compassing them, this being done, then to prescribe the measure, and limits of the action; since (as the Philosopher sayth) it appertayneth to Prudence to allot a requisite medium to all vertues; having waighed what is fitting for time, place, subject, and affaires; after, to gaine the dexterity of attayning thereto; and to prescribe the measure he therein ought to observe: his last office is to put commandement in action by prompt and diligent execution, by meanes of the soules faculty, having the charge of executing the sentence of judgement, and the Empire of Reason. Now if any one of these foure parts of Prudence, eyther counsell, meanes, measure, or prompt commandement bee defective in action, how can it merit the title or glory of a vertuous worke? If counsell fayle him,

it is foolish; if it want meanes, it is vaine; if measure, it is irregular; if prompt and opportune execution, it is idle; unusefull, fruitlesse. If foolish, how can it be right? If vaine, how good? If irregular, how vertuous? If idle, how laudable? VVherefore, as Queenes and great Princesses, are attended by a long traine of Ladyes of Honour: so Prudence (as Queen of vertues) is followed by foure other vertues: The first is called *Eubulia*; well to consult of whatsoever is to be effected, to examine and ponder what is necessary for the well ordering of actions in all sorts of affayres. The second carryes the name of *Synesis*; a vertue requisite to judge aright and to draw solid conclusions out of the principles of the universall Law. The third is called *Gnome*, well to examine in particular what is to be done according to naturall reason, when there is (in some case) no expresse law. The last likewise is named *Gnome*; to resolve and command after due research and judgement. There are three acts of Reason, which reflect upon humane actions to consult, judge, and command. And

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to the end this may passe in due place, and conformably to reason; It is necessary that Prudence be accompanyed with these foure vertues; the first whereof serves for consultation, the second and third for judgement, the last for commandement.

Chap. 10.

That politicke Prudence is rare and how it is to be acquired.

IF it be a difficult matter to accompany every particular action with these foure vertues attending Prudence, and with those foure perfections thence yssuing, how much harder is it to associate them to all the actions of our life; and if to the comportments of a private, how much more to the actions of a publike life? There are three sorts of Prudence, as there are three generall conditions of mans life: For either

eyther man hath onely charge of himselfe, and hath therefore need onely of an ordinary Prudence, or he hath moreover the guidance of a family requiring an œconomicall Prudence; or elſe the adminiſtration of publike affayres, which requireth a Civill and Politike Prudence. Now if common Prudence (neceſſary onely for particulars) be ſo rare among men, the œconomicall and Politike is farre more extraordinary; and if the right and Prudent conduct of our ſelves, requires ſuch parts; what ſhall we ſay of the conduct of others? Of the guidance of Republikes and government of Empires? The Scripture ſayes: *That God founded Heaven by Prudence*: and the Philoſopher: *That this is the proper vertue for him who governes and proceeds*: not that it is not neceſſary for private perſons, but that it is in ſuch ſort requiſite for him who hath publike charge: that as light is to the Sun, and heat to the fire; ſo this to him is a proper eſſence and inſeparable quality; without which he is no more capable to manage affaires, than the Pilot is to guide a Ship without the Helme and Sea-

Card.

Card. God having choſen *Joſeph* to govern the State of Egypt under King *Pharaoh*, endued him with ſo perfect a prudence, as (though yong) yet was hee able to inſtruct the Antients. And *Salomon*, together with his Diadem, received from God the wiſedome to diſcerne judgement, as the booke of Kings ſpeaketh, to wit, the Prudence cauſing decernment in the occurrences of all affaires preſenting themſelves. And truely ſince Prudence is the right rule of ſuch things as we ought to execute (the whole life of publique perſons conſiſting in execution and practice) they cannot eſcape from falling into manifold errors, if they be not adorned with much Prudence. And ſince this vertue, as the watching and open eye over the ſcepter of the Egyptians, ought to ſpreade its circumſpection on every ſide, over places, times, perſons, humours, appurtenances, accidents, and dependencies; over things paſt, preſent, and future; over reaſons, conjectures, ſuſpitions, briefly over the ſmalleſt particularities hapning in this ſubject; the oppoſitions rancounters and vari-

eties of affaires in a Common-wealth being infinite, and the circumstances accompanying these affaires yet more endlesse; It is needfull (were it possible) to have an infinite Prudence perfectly to performe businesse, and to be armed against all occurrents in this case. *Aristotle* in his Rhetorickes saith, *That the most excellent among men are the Councellors of State.* Plato, *that good consultation is a certaine divine and sacred thing.* Saint *Basil*, *That Councell is a divine thing*; and God himselfe by the mouth of the wise man in the *Proverbs*, *That the acquisition of Prudence is more precious than the negotiation of gold and silver.* Pro. 3.

But as divers things must concurre to forme gold (King of Mettals) to weet, the preparation of the matter, the earths disposition, the Suns heat, and length of them: so for the forming this Prudence (Queene of Politicke vertues, the gold of Kingdomes, the treasure of States, the pearle of crowns) great help and happy advantages are to be required, strength of spirit, soliditie of judgement, sharpenesse of reason, and docilitie to

learne of Antients, are the dispositions: Instructions received from eminent persons, the studie of Sciences, knowledge of history, a happy memory in things past, in all Ages and States, are the beginnings; The practice of important affaires, long experience, and the gray maturitie of yeares, are the consummation. For this word of the Ancients never deceived any, *Councell of old men, Armes of yong men*; sound consultation, circumspection of circumstances, foresight of consequences, precaution against impediments, prompt expedition, are the beautifull actions of Statef-men, and (in fine) the peoples repose, the safety of States, the common good of men, are the divine fruits of this perfect prudence. Who so possesseth this treasure, enjoyeth a Diadem; and if his origin hath not conferred Crownes upon him, Crownes will seeke after him; and if his condition have not made him a King, his sufficiencie will make him the Oracle of Kings. What he pronounceth, are decrees, what he sayes, are lawes, his bare words ought to passe for reasons, and as the Phi-

losopher saith, *His naked propositions, have the authority of demonstrations*; since the practise he hath acquired by experience enableth him, (in whatsoever he proposeth) to consider the causes and principles. But what is said of the Phœnix, which being so frequent in Bookes, was (happily) never framed in nature: or what is related of that Orator, among the Antients so highly extolled, but never heard? or of the Philosophers Republique? the so well depainted Idæa whereof could never really appeare: the same may be said of this perfect Prudence, (whom the contemplation of Sages hath so excellently expressed) and which the imbecilitie of humane Nature could never yet perfectly produce. So many rare endowments required in one man are more easily imagined then met with, sooner desired, than acquired. To abuse out selves with Ideas, is to feede upon fancies. Wishes rule not the world; and since things cannot be sutable to our votes, wee must proportion our votes to things. We are to acknowledge our owne ignorance in the truth of this passage

sage of Scripture; *How irresolute are the thoughts of men? and how uncertaine their foresights?* and (to confesse the truth) in al things, but chiefly in Politicke Prudence, which governeth the incertitude of worldly affairs, that he who hath the fewest defects, hath a great share of perfection. One single circumstance sufficeth to alter all in this case, and very often the effect of greatest, and most important actions; as the cure of desperate diseases in States, depends upon a very instant, which Prudence either seeth not, or fortune ravisheth away; and after all we are to avow, that in such cases wherein ordinarily waies are hidden, the causes obscured, the councell incertaine, and the events independant of us: he who seldomest stumbles, hath no small sufficiencie, and who so (oftnest) doth happen rightly to hit, hath a great deale of good fortune.

Chap. 11.

That true Politicke Prudence ought to be derived from the Law of God, against Machiavilians.

BVt as true wisedome ought to be deduced from the law of God, so doth true Prudence flow from this divine fountaine: For God hath spoken by the mouth of the Wise man, *Councell is to me, Equitie is mine, Prudence is mine*, and *David* said to God, *Lord thou hast made me wise by thy word.* Wisedome without God is meere folly, and Prudence no better than malice, the one followeth false principles, the other useth the meanes opposite to the true end of man; the one depraveth the understanding, the other deregulates life, the one deceiveth us in what we ought to understand, the other in what we ought to doe; the one adoreth lyes instead of truth, the other embraceth iniquity for vertue: in briefe, the one diverts

us from the true way, the other leadeth us to a precipice. *The Prudence of the flesh, produceth nothing but death* (saith the Apostle) So as if it be pernicious to particulars, what profit can it afford to Republiques? if it ruine men, how can it relieve Empires? Is not God the finall end of States in generall, as well of men in particular? if he be their end, ought he not to be their ayme? if their ayme, ought they not to levell thereat by meanes conduceable to their end? What other meanes are proper to cause all States to tend toward God, than those which the Prudence derived from God dictates unto us? If therfore fleshly & vain Prudence supposing to maintaine it selfe, maketh use of unjust meanes; and those contrary to God; is it not apparent it diverteth them from their mark, their end and happinesse, ruining insteed of establishing them? Wherefore *Moses* called the people of *Israel*, who would not guide themselves according to Gods law, but by their private spirit, a Nation without Councell and Prudence. And the spirit of God gives us two advertisements, as two gene-

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rall rules of our life; the one by the Wise man, *Relye not on thine owne Prudence*; the other by the Apostle, *Derive not your prudence from your selues*. *Plato* reporteth of *Hyparchus* (in a Dialogue intituled by his name) how this man, (desirous of the publique good, placed great Pillars in all the crosse-waies of *Athens*, whereon were engraven, grave and wholesome inscriptions, advertising men of their duties. If this custome were still in use among us, it were fitting these two sentences, as two Oracles from heaven were engraven in Marble and brasse in the most eminent and chiefly frequented places of all Cities, to admonish men, not to guide the course of their lives, affaires and offices, by the foolish Prudence of the flesh, but by that Prudence derived from God, being the infallible rule as it is the finall and firme conclusion of all humane actions.

CHAP.

Chap. 12.

How the Law of God is usefull for the acquisition of true Politicke Prudence.

THe Law of God doth in two sorts serve toward the acquisition of true Prudence, not onely of that which is ordinary and œconomical, but of the civill and Politicke likewise. First, in proposing to every particular action its due end, direct meanes, and just measure: secondly, in appeasing and calming the passions of the soule, which (as the Philosopher saith) cause a certaine thicke fogge to arise in the superiour part thereof, darkening the eye of reason, and hindering the wholesome counsell and right judgement of things which Prudence ought to afford. For passions imprint in the soule a kinde of malignant dispositon, causing counsell to ere in the election of the true end, judgement in the choice of the

meanes, and the commandement of reason in the definition of times we ought to take, of the place whereof we are to make choice, and of the measure we are to observe in making an Act truely Prudent. The covetous and ambitious person who propoundeth to himselfe no other end than his particular profit and honour, will not make use of other meanes, but such onely as may conduce to the raising of his revenues and dignities; yea, and often (carried away by the floud of this unbrideled desire, as by the force of an impetuous torrent) he is not able to observe either time, place, or measure. What counsels can be expected from a spirit so indisposed toward the safety of Common-wealths? Choller likewise, with Envie, Feare, Voluptuousnesse, and other passions drawing the soule to their side, cause it to become evill affected toward the true end, tempting it to undertake wicked waies, transporting it to foolish and rash inconsiderations. Whereupon *Iulius Cæsar* in *Salust* setteth downe this maxim of State; *Those* (saith he) *who consult, ought to be void of all affections and passions*

Sal. de Conjur. Catil.

which obfuscate the spirit, and hinder it from discerning the truth. And the Philosopher hath this excellent sentence, or rather Oracle, worthy to be written in letters of gold, *That it is a most apparent truth, that none can be truely Prudent, if he be not good and iust.* Wherein even by this naturall reason, hee condemneth of imprudencie and timerity what commonly is called worldly Prudence. And the spirit of God telleth us in holy VVrit; *That covetousnesse and bribery, blindeth the hearts of the Prudent, and concupiscence perverteth their spirits;* with the like words of holy Scripture, shewing vs that the smoake of vitious passions dim the light of Prudence *in the eye of understanding.* But what either more solid or safe instruction is there (for the right learning to rule our passions) than Gods word? VVhat more harmonious musicke for the stilling these furious divels, than the sound of this divine Booke? what more direct rule to moderate these naturall motions, than the Law of the Author of Nature? what more powerfull armes to overcome them, than his precepts?

Ezod. 23.

Dan. 13.

what ſtronger reſtraint to containe them, than his feare? They tranſport Nature, they ſurmount reaſon, they ſlip from morall vertue: Humane Philoſophy cannot maſter them: there is nothing ſave onely the law of God which can rightly regulate them; it belonging ſolely to God to ſubdue mans ſpirit. *The Law of God is without imperfection* (ſaith the Prophet) *and doth perfectly convert ſoules.* For there it is where we learn the true force to vanquiſh the paſſions of the iraſcible; and the true temperance to rectifie the motions of the concupiſcible part. It is there, where we are inſtructed by Gods owne mouth, who hath not onely truth it ſelfe to inſtruct us, but ſupreame authority to command us; mildneſſe againſt choller, love to our enemies againſt hatred, pardon againſt vengeance, reſolution againſt feare, patience againſt perſecutions; whereon is formed in the ſoule a divine forme to overcome whatſoever might terrifie us: it is therein where we are taught the feare of God againſt the baits of the fleſh, the vanity of the world, againſt the deſire of Riches, the obligation

obligation and danger of great Offices, against the ambition of honours; whence the soule draweth a blessed temperance to slight all whatsoever allureth to the contrary. Being thus armed with force against the feare of apparent mischiefes, and with temperance against the love of all perishable substance; it can no way feare any thing but evill it selfe, which is iniquity, nor love, but the true good, to wit, vertue. No assaults can cause us to waver from our dutie, nor baits draw us to injustice. And herein consisteth the true Prudence of the Serpent (according to holy Writ) who exposeth his whole body to preserve his head. It teacheth us that this Prudence knoweth how to forsake (upon just occasion) both goods, honours, and life it selfe to conserve justice: a right necessarie qualitie for publique persons, who in the execution of their offices (if therein they seeke publique good) finde not their particular advantage, but divers baits to slight, and many assaults to overcome. Here you see how the Law of God is the sacred Schoole of true Politick Prudence. *Instruct*

your ſelves (ſaith God) *O you that iudge the earth: ſerve God in feare.* It is from thence the Magiſtrate ought (as *Samuel* did) to take his light and conduct, to adminiſter affaires by true Prudence: It is thence the noble acts of fortitude are ſeene to ſpring, in the reſiſtance of all aſſaults when at any time vertue is engaged in difficult times. From thence it is we ſee occaſions of heroick acts of temperance in ſcorne of dignities, and honours to proceede. Acts which crowne their Author with immortall honour, and fill theſe with confuſion, whom they cannot draw to imitation. Briefly it is from thence, a magnanimious heart deriveth this generous Prudence, and this reſolute ſpirit; the teſtimony whereof he produceth in his life, the fruit in his offices, and the glory in his good name.

The end of the firſt Booke.

THE SECOND BOOK.

Of those vertues which doe forme honesty and integrity for the well imploying of sufficiencie.

CHAP. 1.

Of Politicke Iustice in generall.

NAture hath not contented her selfe, in having bestowed on all things, necessarie faculties whereby to operate, but shee hath further added to those faculties, certaine inclinations and dispositions which cause them to tend to their objects, for the production of their actions.

For

For the eye, beſides the faculty of ſeeing, hath an inclination to viſible objects; the eare to harmonies, the taſte to ſavours, the ſmell to ſweet ſcents. Now this inclination is added, to ſerve as a provocation to the powers, leſt they ſhould remaine idle. So God framing and adorning the ſoule, doth not onely beſtow thereon thoſe vertues requiſite to underſtand how to operate rightly, but doth beſides, adde others which incline, diſpoſe, and give it a propenſion towards the objects convenient for the production of vertuous acts. VViſedome and Prudence are the two general vertues which acquire to a Politician, the ſufficiencie, worthily to governe Common-wealths; Iuſtice and honeſty, with the vertues thereon depending, follow after, to infuſe into the ſoul, the diſpoſition, inclination, motion, and propenſion to employ to good purpoſe both Wiſedome and Prudence; which without Iuſtice and honeſty, would in truth not remaine idle, but become pernicious Theſe being not vertues, but dangerous vices: Wiſedome in a perverſe ſoule becomming deceit-

deceitfull, and Prudence in a dissembling one, malitious. It is as the Peach-tree, which receiving the qualitie of the soyle where it is planted, in *Persia* is poysonous, elsewhere nutrimentall. It is the Camelion, which taking its tincture from the objects nearest unto it, being neare clay, appeareth of a muddy colour, neare gold, of a glorious hew, neare filth, of a foule colour, neare a Diamond, it casteth the lustre of a pretious stone. So the will imprinteth the qualitie, the die and colour in the action, either good if it be sincere, or evill if it be pernicious.

For there is this difference betweene the workes of injustice, and the actions of vertue, that in the former there is no regard but onely to the dexterity, in the latter, the workmans honesty is considered, there the hand, and art performe all; here, the heart and intention have the greater share. So as if the heart be not good, the intention upright, and the end lawfull, the worke cannot be exemplarie, though it appeare excellent. If the Architect build a faire house for a foule end, his irregular intention disgraceth not

his skill: but if he who produceth an act of vertue, propose to himselfe an unjust end, his intention depraveth his action, and the wicked quality of his heart deriveth it selfe into his worke. A fault (as *S. Augustine* saith) which hath blemished the most beautifull actions of morall vertues, appearing among the antient Ethnickes: who have proposed to themselves for the end of their actions, not (purely) justice, but some of them profit, others revenge, some delight, and the most vertuous among them, ambition and vanity. The heart being the beginning of naturall life, is likewise the principle of goodnesse in morall life; nor is there any other difference, save onely that in the body it dyeth last, and in matter of vertue, the first. For in the body, all other parts dye, before the heart wholly decay; but in the matter of vertue, so long as the heart remaineth alive, whilest the intention continues sound, and the will sincere, all the actions are vigorous, good, and laudable; yea and those which in regard they were vitious in their subject, could not merit glory, being vertu-

ous

ous in their conclusion, are yet worthy of excuse. But the heart of vertue once dead, the intention perverted, and the will corrupted, all is rotten, and the most faire vertues become infamous vices, and the most glorious acts punishable crimes. This is the secret of this sacred word in the Gospell: *From the heart issueth all evill.* Wherefore the Philospher saith, that every laudable action is composed of two peeces, of Prudence, which chooseth a good subject, and of morall vertue, which maketh an election of an upright end: and as gold borroweth of the earth its matter, of the Sunne its forme, lustre, and value; so vertuous actions ought to take from Prudence, both Counsell, meanes, and measure, as their matter; from justice and honesty, the right end, and sound intention, as her forme, soule, and esteeme. Here you see, that no action, be it private or publike, can either be good or honest, if it be not just. *Lib. 6. Eth. cap. 12.*

CHAP. 12.

That an vniust action cannot be profitable to States, against Machiavill.

HE further affirme, that it cannot bee profitable to the publike. For divers level not their actions and counsels to goodnesse and honesty, but onely to utility: and following that pernicious maxime of the *Pyrrhonians*, that there is nothing just of it selfe, and by it's owvne nature, but onely out of the opinion and custome of men; and as that Barbarian in *Taeitus* saith: *In a great fortune that which is most profitable, is fullest of equitie*: or as *Eudemus* blasphemed, *That whatsoever was profitable for Republiques, was iust.* Perverse Axiomes, which nature condemneth, reason reproveth, God hath in abhomination, and people detest, and which under colour of profit, raise the cabane of ruine. Since to banish Iustice from humane society, is as much as

to teare the ſoule from the body, and to take the Sunne from the world. It is as much as to change (as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith) Kingdomes into Colonies of theeves; it is to arme man againſt man, to introduce licence; with licence, diſorder, with diſorder, deſolation. Now thoſe who meaſure the juſtice and honeſty of things by utility, of what kinde of utility intend they to ſpeake? of particular, or publike? If of particular, they diſcover themſelves; if of publike, they deceive themſelves. If they call that juſt, whatſoeuer they finde profitable to themſelves, they ſhew themſelves traitors to publike good: or if they imagine, that what is unjuſt, may be advantagious to States, they erre in the principles. For if a State be no other than a generall ſociety of men in Cities or Provinces united together under the authority either of the whole multitude as in a Democracie; of principall perſons, as in an Ariſtocracie, or of a Prince, as in a Monarchie; whereon is this ſociety founded, but upon Vnion? whereon this union, but upon obedience? upon what is obedience founded,

but upon lawes? and whereon lawes, but upon equity? To take equity from lawes, is of lawes to make them violencies; to violate obedience, is to deſtroy it, to deſtroy obedience, is to diſſolve union, to diſſolve union, is to diſſipate ſociety; and to part ſociety, is to ſubvert the State: what followes then, ſave onely that what is juſt, is the conſervation of States, and what unjuſt, is the deſtruction thereof.

Iuſtice conſerves, maintaines, adornes all in nature and art; much more in policy and humane ſociety, which onely are capable of Iuſtice as we prove at large.

Nature her ſelfe teacheth us this. For it is the union of the foure qualities which conſerveth our bodies: an union faſtened by the knot of their mutuall concord, as their peace is eſtabliſhed upon that temperature, which upholdeth and repreſenteth (in their commerce) a kinde of naturall juſtice. But if one of theſe uſurping over another, the temperature be thereby diſturbed, juſtice being thereby violated, peace is broken; peace once broken, union is diſſolved, and the ſtructure is deſtroyed. That which conſerveth this inferiour world, is the marriage of the foure elements, a marriage knit by their accord, as their accord is founded up-

on the justice of the proportion, and equality conjoyning them in one. So as if one offering injury to the other, this equality happen to be disturbed, justice being thereby wounded, their accord would be dissolved, their concord destroyed, their conjunction soone be unlooſed. Art herein confirmeth what nature commendeth to us. See wee not in Musicke, how every voyce keeping his tone, without troubling the tone of others, this iustice they observe, frameth their accord; whence proceedeth the harmony, the sweetnesse, and grace of Musicke. Now if one voyce usurpe upon another, violating hereby this justice, it troubleth the accord, and of this pleasing sound formerly composed of so many well ordered voyces sufficient to ravish the spirits of all hearers, there remaineth nothing save a tumult of confused jarres, enough to dull the eares of all auditors. Doe not measures in Poetry, clauses in Rhetoricke, reasons in Philosophy, numbers in Arithmeticke, the compasse in Geometry, the rule in Architecture, the disposition of colours in limming; briefly,

briefly, the ſo well obſerved proportions in all the workes of art and induſtry, doe they not repreſent in ſome ſort, a kinde of ſhadow of juſtice? If therefore Iuſtice adorn, and conſerve whatſoever is in nature, and what art produceth; if all beautifull things borrow from thence their gracefulneſſe, ſolid matters their force, things living their ſubſiſtence, inanimate things their ornament; and ſince even thoſe things which ſeeme uncapable, can notwithſtanding not ſubſiſt, without ſome ſhew thereof: How can it be that humane ſociety, which alone is capable of right, and reaſon ſhould any way maintaine it ſelfe amidſt injuſtice, injury and violence. Would not a State without juſtice, reſemble a body without the temperature of humours, a world without the equality of elements, a Muſicke without the harmony of voices, a worke without the proportion of thoſe parts which compoſeth it? what would ſuch a worke be but a meere deformity? ſuch a muſicke but a confuſion? ſuch a world but a Chaos? ſuch a body but a dying one? ſuch a State but a

diſorder,

diſorder, tending to its ruine?

The ſentence of all Sages hath authorized theſe demonſtrations, and the examples of all ages have verified the ſame. Hath there ever beene Philoſopher, who hath not held this maxime? a law-maker, who hath not followed this principle? or State which hath preſerved it ſelfe otherwiſe than by juſtice, or hath beene ruined but onely by violence? Whiles Iuſtice flouriſhed in Common-wealths, we have ſeene them proſperous: but no ſooner had violence and oppreſſion crept in, but they preſently inclined, either to utter ruine, or an abſolute change. Is not this worthy of admiration, that even the ſame thing which ruineth Iuſtice, cannot maintaine it ſelfe without her. Robberies founded upon iniquity, cannot poſſibly continue, did not theeves obſerve among themſelves a kinde of equity. So weake and fruitleſſe is injuſtice, ſhe is not able ſo much as to uphold her owne building, how ſhall ſhe then ſupport what Iuſtice hath founded? If therefore it be evident, that in groſſe and generall injuſtice, is

Proofe of the ſame truth, both by authority and example.

the deſtruction of States; how can it be, that by reaſon, and in particular, an iniuſt counſell or act, can be truely profitable? Can the fruits be good, if the tree be infectious or poyſonous?

Chap. 3.

That Iniuſtice even againſt ſtrangers cannot be profitable to States, contrary to the tenets of Machiavillians.

BVt it may (happily) be ſaid, that Injuſtice is indeed pernicious in the body of a Common-wealth; but abroad and among ſtrangers it may be profitable. See we not firſt, that he who offereth an injury, teacheth others to afford the like? that he who gives the on-ſet, obligeth himſelfe to ſuffer aſſaults? and that in juſtling others, he ſhakes himſelfe: that in the vaine attempt of his forces hee puts himſelfe into hazard

hazard to ſhew his owne weakeneſſe? that in an evident miſchiefe, the blame is inevitable, and the iſſue uncertaine? that (as an ancient Author ſaith) States are as Tortices, free from touch or ſtroake, ſo long as they keep themſelves encloſed in their ſhels; but are tender, weake, and in ſmall aſſurance ſo ſoone as they come forth. It is an eaſier matter to enterpriſe matters, than to atchieve them: and (as the Scythian Embaſſadors ſaid to *Alexander* in *Quintus Curtius*) It is an unadviſed courſe to looke upon the fruits of trees, and not to meaſure their height; and that in concluſion, either a vaine attempt, or a ſhort joy is the ordinary fruit of violence. Beſides, hath not the experience of all ages and States ſufficiently ſhewed to the whole world, were it not blinded, that whatſoever humane iniquity taiſeth, divine Iuſtice ruineth? that humane lawes puniſh particular robberies, and divine publique injuſtices; that thoſe miſchies whereto the earth affordeth impunity, cannot obtain it of heaven? that whatſoever ſeeketh its raiſing by force, findeth in the upſhot its

ruine in a greater force. The Wolfe which devoureth the Lambe, is after eaten by the Lyon: briefly, that greatneſſe proceeding from injury, may indeed make a faire ſhew, but cannot endure.

The anſwer to the obiection: that divers great States have laid their foundation upon iniuſtice and uſurpation.

I am not ignorant, that injuſtice and uſurpation have beene the ground of divers great States, and this by the ſecret permiſſion of God, who willing not the ill, but permitting it, either thereout to draw good, or to ſhew his vengeance for ſinne, maketh uſe (when he pleaſeth) of the malice of one nation, to puniſh the ſinnes of another: ſince both the good and bad are under his pay; they give in their names, and the wicked, before they are aware, afford their help-

Iſa. ca. 10.

"ing hand. *I will ſend Aſſur* (ſaith God in *I-*
"*ſaiah*) againſt a perverſe Nation, againſt a
"people which I will deſtroy in my fury, I
"I will take him as an inſtrument of my re-
"venges, but he himſelfe ſhall not think ſo,
"and his heart ſhall not dreame of fighting
"for my juſtice, but for the vanity of his
"owne ambition. See here, how God ma-
king uſe of the malice of wicked men, ſecret-

ly

ly and unwitting to them, on purpose to punish others of like condition, doth sometimes suffer them to raise the foundation of their greatnesse upon injustice and usurpation: but even as in nature, corruption is often the cause of the generation of things, yet doth not corruption at all conserve them, but doth againe destroy what formerly it had framed: so Injustice having rayled these States, hath not at all conserved them; but (necessarily) that which tooke its origine from Injustice, must borrow its conservation of Iustice; and when againe, not contented with the just dominion a long possession had acquired, they have strived to extend their limits by Injustice, they have in the end broken their forces, even against the weaker side, and the same iniquity which built them, hath at all times abolished them.

God, before whose eyes the earth is a Theater, the world a fable, Empire a game, and the revolutions of ages a dayes pastime, hath proposed to men a thousand like spectacles of his Iustice, which over-turneth in-

an instant) the long workmanships of their iniquity. *Kingdomes are transferred from Nation to Nation, in punishment of their iniustices.* It is the decree God hath pronounced, and which he hath not ceased to put in execution in all successions of ages. "God hath "dryed the roots of proud nations (saith "the Sage) he hath overturned and extir- "pated them even to the foundations, hee "hath buried their name with their honour, "and hath blotted out their memory from "the whole face of the earth. And where, I pray you, are all those ancient Empires, which have devoured each other, the iniquity of the latter furnishing sufficient instrument to Gods Iustice for the punishment of the former? These mighty workmanships of Fortune have falne to ground, not leaving any other reliques of their greatnesse, save onely what the blast of heare-say, or the credit of a crasie paper, have beene able to transmit unto us; to testifie how heretofore they have beene extant. Yea, and among all others, that of *Alexander* planted with most violence, hath least en-

Eccluſ. 10.

dured; whereas the Roman Empire, where justice hath beene more observed, hath been both more glorious and stable than all the rest. So farre forth (as Saint *Augustine* saith) that God gave them this length of temporal greatnesse, in recompence of their morall Iustice. But among all States now in splendor, is there any one that hath longer flourished without interruption, than the State of *France*, which during the sequence, revolution, and vicissitude of above twelve ages, gathering still greater strength, and more and more establishing it selfe, hath acquired even amidst the tides, and inconstancies of transitory things, a kinde of eternity? And what maintaineth it but justice, having often causèd it to suffer, never to commit violences, having divers times seene it selfe both oppressed, and a Patron of the oppressed, but never an oppressor; and which containing it selfe within the limits God hath allotted her, and Nature planted, hath not suffered it selfe at any time to seeke further, save onely eyther to recover her owne right, or to represse, and repulse injury, or to revenge

anothers wrong, alone resembling to *Nilus*, which onely among all other Rivers, never quits or shifts his channell, but to doe good. All this sheweth, that both reason, authority, and experience should cause men to conclude, that whatsoever is unjust, is not onely shamefull and unseemely for Empires, but moreover both unprofitable, hurtfull, and pernicious, though not (at all times) for the present, yet at least for the establishment of any perdurable greatnesse, which all States are to ayme at; and that after all, (what the holy Ghost hath determined in Scripture is undoubted) *That onely Iustice*

Pro. 14.18 *raiseth people, and that there is nothing but Iustice, which giveth a firme soliditie to Thrones.*

CHAP.

Chap. 4.

A digreſſion from this diſcourſe of iuſtice, to the title of Iuſt, wherein our King holdeth his name and raigne.

I Doe willingly enlarge my ſelfe upon this diſcourſe of juſtice, ſeeing our King, ſlighting the title of Great, which his Scepter giveth him; of invincible, which his valor prepareth for him; Imperiall, which his vertue alloweth him; of Conquerour, which his fortune affordeth him, together with all theſe pompous and ſpecious titles his modeſty rejecteth, deſireth onely to merit the title of Iuſt, and to cauſe *France* to taſte the fruits of ſo faire and milde a name. He well knowes that Iuſtice is the ſupreame perfection of Royall greatneſſe to draw neare God, the ſtrongeſt armes to ſubdue men; the moſt ſacred Majeſtie to imprint reverence; and the happieſt conqueſt a King can atchieve. If a King be a flower among men, Iuſtice is his beauty;

if a fragrant odour, it is his ſweet perfume; if gold, his value; if a Diamond, his luſtre; if an heaven, his influence; if a Sunne, his light; if an Angell, his office; if the lively image of God, Iuſtice is the pourtrait of his reſemblance; if he be the States eye, Iuſtice is the apple of that eye; if the arme, its nerve; if the hand, its force; if the heart, its life; if the head, its intelligence; if the ſoule, its reaſon: If he poſſeſſeth onely riches, Griffins who keepe gold, ſurpaſſe him; if onely ſtrength, Buls ſurmount him; if onely courage, the Lyon exceeds him; if onely tallneſſe of ſtature, the Elephant is yet higher; if onely ſubtile, the Foxe is craftier; if onely armes, the wilde Boare is better provided; if onely pompouſneſſe, the Lilly is better decked than *Salomon* himſelfe. But if he be endued with reaſon, he over-ruleth all; and if with juſtice, he deſerves to command over all. Let dignity make him the greateſt, power the ſtrongeſt, treaſures the richeſt; yet doth Iuſtice make him the moſt worthy, let him ſecure himſelfe by his armes, guard himſelfe by his treaſures, command by his

lawes; but let him raigne by Iuſtice. In briefe, Iuſtice is the rampart of his ſtrong places, the Bulwarke of his Cities, the prop of his Crowne: the mother of equality, the cement of union, the pillar of authority, and the eye of obedience. Our King, touched with theſe conſiderations, and inſpired from heaven, as *Salomon* in his tender yeares, to underſtand the importance of his charge, and weight of his Scepter, hath addreſſed the like prayer to Almighty God, exhibiting the ſame demand, as *Salomon* did in a ſemblable neceſſity: *O Lord, thou haſt made mee to raigne in the place of my Father, thou haſt placed me in the midſt of a people which thou haſt choſen, amidſt an infinite people, the number whereof paſſeth all that can be counted: Give then to thy ſervant a docible ſpirit, to the end that diſcerning good from evill, hee may iudge the people with iuſtice and equity.* 1 Reg. 3. This is the prayer he made to God, and the grace hee demanded from heaven in his tender yeares, as did *Salomon*, requiring (as he did) not riches, not proſperity, not victories, not conqueſts, but onely wiſedome and iuſtice.

Now if this prayer of *Salomon* were ſo pleaſing to God, as hee not onely granted him what he demanded, but further added what he requited not: *Becauſe* (ſaid he) *thou haſt not demanded a long life, nor the death of thine enemies, nor abundance of treaſure, but rather wiſedome to diſcerne iudgement, and afford iuſtice; behold, I have agreed to thy deſires, and have given thee a wiſe and intelligent heart, even ſo farre forth, that times paſt have not yet ſeene the like, nor ſhall future ages ever behold: but for an over-plus of my favours, I will give thee what thou haſt not as yet asked, abundance of riches, and the greatneſſe of a glory, which ſhall ſurpaſſe that of all thy predeceſſors.* If God recompenced the holy and juſt deſire of *Salomon* with ſo many graces, ſhall we imagine he will now be leſſe liberall to the Nephew of Saint *Louis*, bearing his name, and walking in the ſteps of his vertues? or that he will not grant to the like prayers, the ſame graces? to the ſame vowes, the like gifts? to an equall diſpoſition, equall benedictions? The Philoſopher in his Ethicks, compares Iuſtice to the morning ſtarre, which prepareth

Lib.5 Eth. cap. 1.

reth the Sunnes way, and proclaimeth light to the world. Since therefore this faire ſtarre hath begunne to appeare in the riſing of thy Sunne, O *France*, and ſince thy Sunne hath choſen iuſtice for his morning ſtarre, what canſt thou expect from the progreſſe of his courſe, but a day of peace, being (as the Prophet ſpeaketh) *the worke of iuſtice*, ſo as if any cloud ariſe to darken his light, it ſhall onely be to cauſe his vigour the more to appeare. And ſince the Scripture ſaith: *That the houſe of the iuſt is a ſtrong Bulwarke*, what ſtorme, what tempeſt, what attempts can prevaile againſt the Kingdome of the Iuſt. Purſue gloriouſly (O generous Prince) thy begun courſe, effect thy holy deſires, and by thy lawes eſtabliſh the raigne of *Aſtræa*, in the age of iniquity: March on (O cleare Sunne) after this faire ſtarre, the fore-runner of thy glory, and the meſſenger of our felicity. Diſſipate by theſe lights, the clouds of corruption, and God will remove farre from our heads, all the ſtormes of miſchiefe: Make thy *France* a Temple of Iuſtice, and God will make it a fortreſſe of force. Plant

Opus Iuſtitiæ pax. Iſa. 32.

Domus iuſti plurima fortitudo. Pro. 15.

Iustice there as a rampart, and piety as a defence; and God will there place felicity, peace, and assurance, as limits.

Seest thou not already, O *France*, the fruits of the vowes, and the effects of these generous designes: Dost thou not behold his justice as his morning starre shouting forth the point of his first beames, how it hath expelled that law, which exposed the palmes of vertue, either to the hazard of not springing, or to the traffick of avarice? See you not how it beginneth to open the gates of honour to merit; which could not there enter, had it not in its hand either the title of succession, or (as *Aeneas*) the golden branch, to give it passage. See you not how vertue which lay neglected, begins to looke up, and gloriously to triumph? Rejoyce O ye seates of justice beset with Lillies, wee hope againe to see that no Hornet shall henceforth corrupt your flowers, but that onely swarms of Bees, daughters of heaven, shall there compose the hony of justice. And if this age had as great a disposition to receive the ancient order, as our Prince hath

a desire to renew it: should we not already see the iron of our ancient Mannors quit the rust, to resume (as he doth) the shine and lustre of the golden age? But who can sufficiently celebrate all those other benefits which his justice hath produced for *France* in the first Aprill of his age and raigne, renewing this ancient miracle of the Ile of *Naxis*, where the Vines put forth their fruits together with their flowers?

That brutall rage of Duels, sacrificing the faireſt flowers of the French Nobility, by a bloudy death, to an immortall damnation; the course whereof could not, either by so many edicts, or prohibitions be any waies stopped: hath it not in conclusion layd down its armes in the hands of his invincible justice? This Monster was conceived by a foolish passion of an imaginarie valour, as the Centaures, by the embracement of a cloud: vanity produced it, folly bred it up, bloud nourished it, yea the best bloud in the whole body of the State, as the monster whereof the Prophet *Abacuc* speaketh, which gapeth onely after choice morsels: Great

Abacuc 1. *Esca eius electa.*

ones, Nobles, Hectors, were his prey, and the obstinate errour of spirits, passing into point of honour, did yet further inflame (by the sting of glory) this fury and slaughter. What pitty was it to see the ancient butchery of the sacrifice of mens bodies renewed, before the Idoll, not any longer of a *Moloch*, or of *Saturne*, but of a glory as falle as it was cruell; yea and the bloud of reasonable creatures which the Pagans immolated to vaine deities, Christians so profusely to poure forth the like before the Idoll of the vaine phantome of honour? Whither goest thou (O blinde Fury) and to what excesse of folly and mischiefe doth thy transportation cast thee, causing thee so sinisterly to interpret a word, as that for a mere Puntillio, for a Chimæra of vanity, conceived in thy phancie, to expose thy bloud in a meadow to iron, thy body to death, thy soule to perdition, and thy honour it selfe for which thou undergoest all this to publike infamy of divine and humane lawes? understandest thou not reason condemning thee? Edicts threatning thee? God pursuing

thee?

thee? the heavens thundring, and hell opening under thee? Thy life which thou oweſt to God, to his Church, to thy King and Country, goeſt thou baſely to prodigalize in a quarrell, where the combat is unworthy, the conqueſt wicked, and the defeat fatall? where the combatants keepe cloſe, the vanquiſhed loſeth his ſoule together with his body, the vanquiſher takes his heeles, his flight is his triumph, the feare of lawes his crowne, the gallowes his gaine: briefly, where a ſlight matter is the ſubject, a fooliſh perſwaſion the motive, a falſe honour the object, an aſſured opprobrie the end, an immortall ſorrow the iſſue, and an eternall miſery the fruit and recompence. O how deafe, blinde, and obſtinate is a ſoule once ſeized upon with paſſion! deafe, not being able to heare the truth; blinde not knowing how to confeſſe its errour; obſtinate that will not retire out of the abyſſe of his aſſured ruine. All theſe charges, menaces, and chaſtiſements of heaven and earth, inſtead of repreſſing this giddy rage, did but further provoke it: yea, *Henry the Great*, whoſe

invincible arme ſuppreſſed the Hydra of our civill warres with more than an hundred heads, could not yet ſubdue this furious monſter of Duels, either by his Edicts or authority: he had diſſipated the ſtormes of our ſeditions, lockt up warre with iron chaines, placed peace upon pillars of braſſe, yet amongſt all theſe ſweets of peace, this unchained fury of Duels, robbing *France* of her moſt valiant children, ſtill afflicted her with more fatall effects of ſo bloudy a warre. She lamented her daily loſſes, and ſo many remedies uneffectually employed, cauſed her to feare leſt this miſchiefe were incurable. When behold, her *Lewis*, ſtanching (as a Iaſper ſent from heaven) by his ſageneſſe and prudence, the bloud this fury drew from the veines of his moſt noble ſubjects, hath ſuddenly ſtopped her teares and griefes. And as *Fortune* heretofore ſtayed the Conqueſts of *Philip*, to the end his ſonne *Alexander* might finde ſubject to ſhew his valour, ſo ſeemeth it, that heaven limiting the good fortunes of *Henry* the Great, by the defeat of the Hydras of our ſeditions, hath

purpoſely

purpoſely refuſed him the victory over this monſter of Duels, to reſerve it for our *Alexander*, and thereby to ſhare betweene the Fathers valour, and the Sonnes Iuſtice, the glory of the entire quiet, and ſafety of *France*. Thou oweſt (O *France*) the beginning of thy good fortune, to the Fathers armes, the perfection to the Sonnes lawes. The one (*Great*) hath raiſed thee, the other (*Iuſt*) hath confirmed thee, the one by battailes, hath layd the plat-forme of thy reeſtabliſhment, the other by his ordinances doth daily build and perfect thee. The one by his victories hath cured the wounds of warre, the other by his prudence, that of Duels, which ſtill continued bleeding in thy body. Thou now ſeeſt that accompliſhed, which wanting to thy wiſhes, ſeemed to be deficient to thy good fortune; this rage is layd aſleepe, not without aſtoniſhment; this fury extinguiſhed not without admiration: the bloud diſtilling from thy veines by this channell is now happily ſtayed: This generous bloud formerly ſhed to thy loſſe, is now happily reſerved for thy defence. Nor haſt

thou ſmall occaſion of doubt, to whom thou art more obliged; whether to the Fathers valour, which hath purged thee of the bad bloud of Rebels; or to the Sonnes juſtice, which hath reſerved for thee the beſt bloud of thy children. It is reported, how neither prohibitions, nor menaces of lawes, could at all ſtay the fury of the Mileſian Virgins, immolating themſelves by a bloudy death, till the infamie of being expoſed naked after their death, cured their ſpirits of this frenzie; ſhame gaining that of them, which feare could not effect. So, ſince Duels have not (at Court) found this vaine applauſe, ſerving as a ſpurre and object to their ſavage ambition; and that our King is not ſatisfied in the onely proſecution of them by his Edicts, but hath farther purſued them even to his *Louure*, by hiſſings and diſhonours; his Royall diſcretion hath thereby found the true remedy againſt this blinde paſſion, which obſtinating it ſelfe againſt the terrour of all torments, could be onely overcome by the apprehenſion of this diſgrace. A falſe honour nouriſhed it, a true ſhame hath healed it.

Who

Who therefore ſeeth not, if hee be not blinded, and who acknowledgeth not if he be not ungratefull, the viſible wonders of divine providence, in cauſing his royall enterpriſes to be atchieved with ſo great ſucceſſe, and more honour, againſt all impediments; in ſuch ſort as to oppoſe his deſigns, is not to ſtop, but advance their current? would not one ſay that heaven had paſſed a contract with him, to overthrow whatſoever reſiſts him? or that his Genius, which managing all wills, forceth likewiſe and captivateth all attempts under his authority, all perils under his proſperity, and all diſaſters under his good fortune? See we not (ſo ſoone as any ſtorme riſeth againſt him) how heaven brings him, (not as the Antients have ſaid of *Demetrius*) Cities ſurpriſed in the hunting-toyles of his fortune, but hearts more happily ſubmitted to his obedience by the nets of love and duty? Seemeth it not, that God ſuffereth not thoſe aſſaults which moleſt him, but onely for his farther glory? As weight is to the Palm-tree cauſing it to become more ſtiffe; or fire to gold

Plutarch in the life of *Demet.*

which refineth it. So it is credible, that heaven, amorous of the title of Iust, whereat his intentions ayme, and whereof his lawes and wisedome have already afforded us the first fruits, worketh all these miracles in sight of nations, to let the world see, that the victories, triumphs, obedience of subjects, the good affection of the people, and all sorts of prosperities doe crowne and accompanie Iustice. *Plato* reporteth how *Hipparchus* caused this excellent sentence to be engraven upon a pillar erected in the market place of his chiefe Citie: *Apply thy selfe to that which is iust*: But our King even from his entrance to the Crowne, carrieth the same imprinted in his heart, hee produceth the fruits thereof in his actions, he heapeth up the honour thereof in the generall praises all men afford him; already doth History erect unto him a pillar more durable than marble and brasse, therein to leave engraven before the eyes of all after-ages, the glory of the name of Iust: and heaven conferring all these happy successes upon him as a salarie and recompence, addeth yet (for his

Plato in Hipparchus.

farther

farther honour) to the crownes of Iustice, the triumphs of valour.

Goe on gloriously, O Sonne of *Great Henry*, and Nephew of Saint *Lewis*, in the first traces of thy just designes, and let these faire beginnings hereafter serve thee as a spurre; and thy selfe, to thy selfe as an example. What more royall or divine thing is there than to measure his counsels and actions? conformable to what the Roman Philosopher said: *That among Elephants, the greatest conducteth the rest, but that amongst men the best is the greatest.* To that likewise which another answered to a certaine flatterer who extolled the greatnesse of a Prince: *How is he greater than I, if he be not more iust?* And who is greatest thinke you, as the holy Ghost speaketh by the mouth of the sage: *He who observeth iustice, shall there finde greatnesse and exaltation. Iustice is the root of immortality on high in the glory of God, here on earth in the memory of men.*

CHAP.

Chap. 5.

A division of Politicke iustice, into three members and parts; what the Politicke oweth to God, what to himselfe, and what to the publike.

HEre resume the clew of my discourse, and doe beseech the Reader (if this digression hath seemed tedious unto him) to consider, that the sensibility of a good so nearely concerning us, is never over-long to those who taste it, nor the discourse to the relator; and besides treating of those benefits which Iustice brings to States: so present an example, hath served as a confirmation under the title of a digression.

I will therefore now descend from this generall consideration of Politicke Iustice, to the particular duties of so beautifull and usefull a vertue. Iustice is as the herbe called *Trefoil*, or the triple pointed Trident; or

Ge-

Gerion with his three heads: For man having three principall objects of his actions: God, himſelf, and his neighbour: Iuſtice obligeth him to all theſe three; from whence are derived and ſprung three offices and generall duties of Iuſtice. Theſe three branches riſing from this root, doth againe divide it ſelfe into three other ſmall ſlips, producing the ſeverall fruits of ſuch duties as we are to yeeld to God, to our ſelves, and all men; and this differently in conſequence of the different obligation ariſing out of the ranke and place each man holds in the order of civill ſociety. So as that Politicke Iuſtice, whereof we ſpeake, doth firſt of all produce from its ſtocke, three great branches, to wit, theſe three generall duties, the firſt toward God, the ſecond toward our ſelves, the third toward the publike: theſe three branches, doe after each of them ſhoot forth other ſmall twigs, namely the particular duties to each one of theſe three, whereto Iuſtice obligeth the Politician. Our duty toward God produceth two: Religion with piety, and the right intention in counſels and

actions. The duty toward our selves, other two; the care of a good name, and the regulating of our actions and comportments. The duty toward our neighbour produceth foure: good example, solicitude, fidelity, and the love of publike good. Now herein are comprehended all the other vertues, all the endeavours and fruits of particular actions, which issue and are derived from Politicke Iustice.

We will deduce all these points in order, through the sequence of this booke: but so as those who making Nosegayes in a garden composed of divers quarters, content themselves to take a single flower from each severall border.

CHAP.

Chap. 6.

Of Religion and piety, being the first duty of Politicke Iustice, reflecting upon God.

REligion is the first duty of Politicke Iustice, concerning God, not onely out of Philosophicall reason, affirming how nothing acquireth greater credence and authority toward men, Princes, and Magistrates, than to be esteemed Religious, beloved and favoured of God; as it is manifest by the examples of all such who have either founded, polished, or governed Republikes: but chiefly because those who here on earth supply Gods place, *I have said yee are Gods*, (saith the Spirit of God in Scripture) are obliged by a more particular tye than the generality of men: to acknowledge him whom they represent. All waters come from the Sea, and returne thither; all power, all authority and superiority comes from God, and ought to returne to him. It comes from

God by extraction, it ſhould therefore returne from us to God by homage: if the motive of acknowledgment and duty have no leſſe power over men, than Nature hath over-things inanimate. We ſee even among men, that thoſe who have not their dignities by extraction, but hold them of others, as from a Prince or King, are obliged to increaſe in humiliation and acknowledgement toward their ſuperiour, as they riſe in greatneſſe and authority over others: for ſhould they (as *Sejanus*) pervert their Maſters beneficence into matter of ſlighting, pride and rebellion, they would thereby convert their exaltation into occaſion of ruine. So the great ones of this world, who hold their dignities not of nature making all men equall, but of the will, providence, and ordinance of God, which hath diſtinguiſhed them into divers rankes; as they are more obliged to God than all other men; ſo ought they be more humble, gratefull, and religious toward God than others; and by how much the more his favour exalteth them, by ſo much the more ſhould the conſideration

ſideration of their originall meaneſſe humiliate them. See we not, that the farther a tree ſhooteth up his branches toward heaven, the lower it ſinkes its root into the earth? the higher a houſe is, the deeper is the foundation; and the wonder herein is, that its profundity ſupports it ſublimity, and the ſublimity would become its ruine, were not the depth of the foundation its firmeſt ſolidity. Is not this an inſtruction to the great men of this world, that they ſhould abaſe themſelves by homage, Religion, and piety towards God, in proportion as God raiſeth them in authority over men: and if the humility of this acknowledgement be not the foundation, and ſupport of their greatneſſe, their owne pride will be their deſtruction. *God will debaſe thee* (ſaid *Daniel* to King *Nabuchadnezzer*, who would not acknowledge God, but rather ſeeke to make himſelfe God) *God will debaſe thee even ſo farre, as thou ſhalt learne, that the moſt high hath dominion over the raigne of men.* The Angels of the higheſt order are moſt obedient to God, moſt prompt to execute his will, and who more

then all others, acknowledging their owne impotency, and his omnipotency: and he who in his creation was the principall of all other Angels, was not cast downe from his ranke, but for having falne from this humble acknowledgement. *God putteth downe the proud, and exalteth the humble,* saith the Scripture. And in truth, if wee observe in Histories all those proud and impious persons, who as *Nemrod* strive to scale heaven, and lay the foundation of their greatnesse in Atheisme and irreligion, wee shall finde that they have all of them builded Towers of *Babel*, that God hath cõfounded them all, and left the markes of their follies in their confusions, and of his wrath in his revenge: wee shall in conclusion see this truth of the wicked *Antiochus* his confession, which Gods chastisements as a racke, wrested from his sinfull lips: *Truely* (saith hee) *it is a iust thing to subiect our selves to God*; and that a mortall man should not dare to march equall with God. We shall on the contrary side observe, that the piety of Princes hath caused their estates to flourish, and their

religion hath at all times maintained their crownes. Who hath raigned either longer, more happily, or more gloriously in *Iudea* than *David*? *Salomon* before his prevarication? *Ezechias*? *Iosias*? At *Rome*, than *Constantine* the great? In *Greece*, than *Theodosius* the yonger? in *France*, than *Charlemaine* and Saint *Lewis*? is not this to prove, that religion and piety propose temporall prosperity for recompence? Time is her course, eternity is her ayme. Yet would God shew by these examples, that (in consequence of his promise) when we first seeke his Kingdome, his justice, and the observation of his lawes, temporall blessings are further added, as by accessary and dependant rights.

But that which should further incite those who have the government of States, to a higher straine of Religion and piety towards God, than ordinary persons, is the greatest need they have more than all others, of his illumination in their counsels, of his conduct in their enterprises, of his force in their executions, and of his provident care in their various occurrents, dangers,

gers and difficulties. How often finde they themselves entangled in Labyrinths, whence neither humane reason, nor morall vertue can any way dis-engage them. And then it is when they stand in need of a more sublime instinct, a more eminent light, and more heroicall vertue: which *Aristotle* himselfe, though a Pagan, acknowledged in his Ethicks; where he termeth this vertue Divine and supernaturall, and those who are therewith adorned, *divine persons*. And in another place he saith, that those who finde themselves toucht by this divine instinct, ought not as then to take advise of humane reason, but onely to follow the interiour inspiration, by reason they are inspired by a better and more sublime principle, than is the knowledge of reason, or the motion of nature. But who seeth not, that they who administer the weighty affaires of Kingdomes and Common-wealths, where reason and humane Prudence often comes short, have more need than all others of these instincts and these divine motions, which God (doubtlesse) doth more easily commu-

communicate to those whom a true devotion draweth nearer unto him. *Theologie* informeth us (upon this subject) that for the inducement of soules to these sublime motions poducing the generous acts of heroicall vertues, God imprinteth in them certaine divine habitudes and supernaturall inclinations which are called infused gifts of the holy Ghost. Gifts which being distributed by God, not so much for the particular good of the receiver, as for the generall good of others, seeme to be more particularly reserved for them, who have the charge and conduct of States, whether spirituall or temporall. *D. Tho. 12. Quest. 68.*

But is it not apparant, that those who become the most pious and religious towards God, are the best disposed subjects to receive these spirituall endowments, necessary for the high attempts of generous actions? *Upon whom shall my spirit descend,* (saith God by the Prophet) *but upon him who humbleth himselfe before my face, and who feareth my words?* The feare of God, daughter of true piety, is one of those gifts of the holy

Ghoſt reduced to the number of ſeaven by the Prophet *Iſaiah*: A feare which deje&teth not the ſpirits (as Libertines will have it) but doth rather rayſe them, and by ſubmitting them to God, elevateth them over the whole world. Isa. 11.

Examine Hiſtory, and ye ſhall finde, that they who have had piety and the feare of God engrafted in their ſoules, are the men who have produced the braveſt a&s, both of Magnanimity, Conſtancy, Wiſedome, Prudence, Valour, and Counſell, as well in warre as peace: nor have they been weake in any thing, ſave onely in iniquity, a thing wherein the world ſo much ſheweth its ſtrength. But iniquity is not ſtrength, it is no better than weakeneſſe, either of the underſtanding, which errour blinderh, or of the Will which paſſion tranſporteth, or of the Appetite which pleaſure captivateth, or of the Senſe which the world deceiveth: whereas piety and the feare of God arming the underſtanding againſt falſity, the will againſt concupiſcence, the appetite againſt voluptuouſneſſe, and the ſenſes againſt all

snares, it causeth the soule to become valiant, invincible, and inexpugnable against all manner of attempts, and proper for the production of generous actions and heroicall atchievements.

Now besides that piety towards God disposeth the soule to great and glorious actions, (a requisite disposition for all good States-men) it moreover procureth the favour and love of God, thereby to cause all their designes gloriously to succeed, and happily to surmount all oppositions. To this purpose we reade in our Histories, that *Philip* the King of *France*, after so many battels, victories, and triumphs, which crowned him with immortall honour, applying himselfe yet daily more and more to piety, to the exaltation of Religion, to the foundation, enrichment, and adornement of Churches: certaine States-men intimated unto him (under colour of publike good) that so great liberalities exhausted his treasure, and that he might employ this beneficence, both to better purpose, and with greater glory to himselfe, in advancing the poore families

of ſouldiers, and gentry, then in adding more to the riches of Churches and Altars. Yee then wonder (anſwered this wiſe King) at what I doe for the worſhip of God: but if you reflected upon the frequent neceſſities and perplexities wherein wee have beene formerly plunged in our warres and battels, and out of which the merciſull hand of the Almighty hath a thouſand times viſibly protected and ſaved us, beyond all humane reaſon and likelihood, having wrought ſo great things both for the ſafety of our perſon, and the glory of our State: yee would finde no exceſſe, but rather a defect in what I doe for his ſervice. I alleadge this ſage anſwer as proceeding from a King who underſtood the truth thereof by experience; to ſhew, that if great perſons, and thoſe who ſtand at the helme of great States and Empires, did ſeriouſly conſider the occaſion they have to invocate the favour and particular aſſiſtance of God, amidſt ſo many traverſes, obſtacles, and difficulties, as daily encounter in eminent affaires, they would become more pious and religious towards God,

God, then divers of them for the moſt part appeare to be.

Chap. 7.

Of the duties and particular fruits of Religion and politicke Piety.

BVt ſince Religion ought not to be vaine, nor without workes, nor piety a tree without fruit; the fruits therefore of piety fit for a right Politician, are zeale towards the worſhip of God, obedience to his ordinances, reverence towards his myſteries, reſpect to his miniſters, and ſubmiſſion to his Church. God hath placed in heaven (ſaith an holy Father) two great lights, the Sunne and Moone; and on earth two ſoveraigne powers; the ſpirituall and temporall: but as in the heavens, the Moon borrowes her light from the Sunne; ſo on earth the temporall ought to receive from

the ſpirituall, the light of true wiſedome, neceſſary for its guidance. The law of God, which the Church propoſeth and explicateth, ought to regulate the world; the light of God which this Sun diſtributeth, ought to illuminate it; It goeth aſtray if it follow not this light, and it loſeth this light if it turne the backe from this Sunne.

Chap. 8.

Of the integrity of the Intention, which is the other duty of that Politicke Juſtice which reflecteth on God.

THe integrity of intention in counſels and actions, is the other dutie of Politicke Iuſtice towards God. For it is a quality requiſite in every juſt and honeſt action; as the forme which gives being to morall honeſty: but the intention cannot bee ſincere, but by relation of the action to the true

true end of man, which is God. So as the action cannot be good and juſt if it tend not to God, either by the hearts intention, or at leaſt by the nature of the worke, which of it ſelfe hath relation to God, by meanes of the beauty of that obiect it reflecteth on. And in this ſenſe, all the excellent actions of Pagans and Infidels, performed for the beauty of vertue, not for vanity, profit, vengeance, and other vitious and irregular ends and affections; had of themſelves a kinde of relation to God, though man be not aware thereof: Nay, it is moreover the opinion of the moſt learned Divines, that theſe actions (by their condition) appertaine to eternall reward, though the hindrance of infidelity cauſeth them to faile in the attainement. For whatſoever is effected (purely) for a vertuous end, is good; what is good, is gracious in Gods ſight; that which is agreeable to God, is conformable to his will, either revealed unto us by his law, or ingrafted in us by nature; and whatſoever is ſutable to his will, belongeth to life everlaſting: ſince the Scripture ſaith: *That life is*

found

found in the observation of his will: but each thing belonging to life everlasting, is not sufficiently availeable for the acquisition thereof, if faith, charity, grace, and all other necessary qualities doe not concurre. Who knowes not that the faith of a Christian dying out of the state of grace, is notwithstanding a thing belonging to eternall life, in its owne nature: yet by reason of sinne, though it appertaine thereto, it arriveth not thereto: As the childe who is debarred of his paternall inheritance to whom it belongeth, when at any time the right acquired by his origine, becommeth unprofitable unto him by his offence. So all good morall actions, have naturally right to the inheritance of celestiall felicity, which is mans last end; but they faile thereof through their default, when either sinne, or infidelity maketh their former right unusefull to them. Now this is sufficient to shew, that all actions purely performed for a vertuous end, be they particular, œconomicall, or Politicall, level and goe directly toward God, though man dream not at all of any relation to that end.

This

This foundation layd, I say, that to cause a Politicke action to become just and honest, it must be armed with a right intention, and which tendeth to God: if not by the expresse cogitation and ayme of the soule, yet at least by the good and lawfull quality of the object. But the object is good, when it is conformable, either to naturall reason, being the unwritten law, or to Gods law, which is the written reason, or to just humane lawes, and those not contrary to God and nature, which is Reason; explicated, enlarged, unfolded, and proposed by those who have authority, serving as a rule to all particular actions. Every maxime, constitution, and action, being not squared, and added to one of these three Rules, can reflect upon no other thing, than either pleasure, profit, ambition, or some other disordinate passion: unlawfull objects, not being able to imprint in a morall act other than injustice and dishonesty.

All this doth punctually shew us, that it is an obligation in Politicke justice concerning God to conforme, by a right intention,

our propoſitions, counſels and actions, either to naturall reaſon, or to divine law, or to juſt humane lawes, and by this meanes to cauſe the State to tend to God, which is the common end both of the Church and State, of ſpirituall and temporall, of body and ſoule. And truely ſince Iuſtice willeth us to afford to every man his due, temporall States being of Gods inſtitution and demaine, Iuſtice commandeth us, that an adminiſtration conformable to his will, ſhould have relation to his glory. Thither it is all ought to ayme, namely amongſt Chriſtians who acknowledge whence they come, where they are, and whither they tend, as knowing their originall, their eſtate and end. The whole world is made for man, and man for God; now though he hath two diſtinct parts, the body and ſoule, two different motions, one of reaſon, the other of appetite: and conſequently two ſeverall eſtates, ſpirituall and temporall; yet ſo it is, that he hath but one onely finall end, which is the enjoyment of God. He is therefore obliged to cauſe all to ayme at God: body

and ſoule; reaſon and appetite; the ſpirituall and temporall: As the Prophet *David* who ſayd unto God: *Both my ſoule and my fleſh thirſt after thee.* All within mee, aſpireth to thee O Lord, my ſoule and the powers therof, my fleſh with its dependencies, theſe two parts compoſing my all: though different in nature, unite themſelves by affection, and having but one end, have likewiſe but one deſire, cauſing their divers motions to tend to the ſame Center. See here, that not onely the ſoule, but the body likewiſe ought to ayme at Almighty God, who is the finall end, and will be the crowne of both: when after the reſurrection, the ſoule fælicitated by the viſion of the God-head, ſhall make the body happy by the redundance of her beatitude, ſo as both of them ſhall enjoy God: the ſoule by viſion, the body in its manner, by the ſenſibility of theſe ſweets: the ſoule by union, the fleſh by participation aud ſociety: the ſoule by the intermiſe of the light of glory, the fleſh by the communication of the ſoules glory. So as if God be the end, the Crowne, and

the soveraigne good, not of the soule onely, but likewise of the body. And if these two parts composing man, ought equally to ayme at God; is it not altogether necessarie, that Politicke power having charge to direct whatsoever belongeth to the body, should propose God both for object and end, as well as the spirituall power, which governeth these things touching the soule? If the flesh cause man to perish, can the spirit save him? If the temporall make him slip from God, the spirituall desiring to conduct him to God, shall it not see it selfe frustrated of the desired end? To undoe ones selfe on the one side, is no lesse than to be lost on both sides: since the soule followes the body, the one part the other, and the whole the parts.

CHAP.

Chap. 9.

Of the care of a good renowne; being the first duty of Politicke Iustice towards our selves.

After we have given to God our sincere Intentions, we after owe to our selves the care of a good name, which is necessary in a Magistrate, for profiting the publike, as the communication of the Suns light is for illuminating the world. *Moses* in *Deuteronomy* required this quality for those he intended to place over the people, and this point dependeth on the other: for as a straight body casteth an upright shadow and a counterfeit one, a crooked: so commonly a good conscience casteth the shadow of a singular reputation, a wicked one, the shadow of a bad fame. And though the intention be a secret of the heart, not comming to sight before the eyes of men; Cap. 2.

yet doth ſhee ſhout forth (as a hidden root) the fruits of ſuch actions, as diſcover the treee. *Yee ſhall know them by their fruits*: (ſaith truth it ſelfe.) It was no unfitting reſemblance, when the Ancients compared vertue to the body, and a good name to the ſhadow following the ſame. For as the body perſpicuated by the light, caſts a ſhadow, which may be called the daughter of light, and of the body: of light cauſing it by encountring the body; and of the body, producing it by being reflected upon by the light; So vertue lightened by publike acknowledgement, produceth reputation, which may be termed Ioynt-daughter to vertue, and acknowledgement; of acknowledgement which ſeeing vertue, takes notice thereof, and of vertue which encountred by acknowledgement, produceth it. So that as the ſhadow is the production of the body lightened, ſo honour is the childe of vertue acknowledged. But it happeneth that in the morning the Sunne reflecting a farre off upon the body, the ſhadow goes before; towards noone, beating plumme

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upon it, the ſhadow walkes aſide by it; towards evening, leaving it behind, the ſhadow followes it. The like it is in rare and eminent perſons: the firſt view of ſpringing vertue, beginneth betimes to caſt before them the reputation which precedeth them, levelling the way for them to great actions. In the midſt of their courſe being expoſed perpendicularly to the eyes of all men, glory marcheth along by them; and afterward in the evening of their age, the certaine proofes they have ſhewed of their vertue and goodneſſe, goe before them as a cleare Sunne, to prepare for them a renown which ſhall follow them eternally in the memory of after-ages. Obſerve all the Ancients who have appeared upon the Theater of the moſt famous States, honour hath gone before them at their entry, accompanied them in their courſe, and followed them after their death: honour hath beene the Herald, which marching before them, hath opened the way for them to great deſignes: honour hath beene their inſeparable convoy in the execution of their famous exploits: honour

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hath moreover beene their immortall crowne after their deceaſe. And it is a touch of Gods divine Providence in the conduct of ſublunary States; ſo to governe thoſe whom he pleaſeth to make choice of as inſtruments of his favours, and for the ſafety of Empires, as he cauſeth the glory of their vertue betimes to appeare amidſt the darkneſſe of moſt corrupted ages, putting them into credit, in the midſt of diſorder, rayſing them in the middle of ingratitude, maintaining them in the throng of envies, illuſtrating them among calumnies: affording them this honour not for a ſubject of ambition and vanity, but for occaſion and obligation, to imploy the vertue afforded them for publike utility, and after they have ſhewed themſelves worthy cooperators with his Providence in ſo great a worke, hee for ever conſerveth the memory of their names, to the end their vertue having beene uſefull for the age they lived in, their example may ſerve for future times.

Good fame therefore is the inſeparable ſhadow of vertue in publike perſons; and

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as Mathematicians measure the height of the body by the length of the shadow; and as the Ancients have discovered, (by the extent of the shadow of Mount *Athos*) the sublimity of its eminent top; so shall we seldome be deceived in taking the modell of the vertues in eminent persons, from the measure of their reputation. For it is a maxime verified by experience, that most men following the tide of naturall inclination, are more subject to scandalise, than praise; and if they erre in their judgements concerning those who govern them, they are sooner transported to rash censures, than to vaine praises. The very shadow of one single vice, sufficeth to procure publike blame, a thousand vertues being no more than necessary to acquire generall approbation. All men take notice of faults, few inquire into perfections. We rather discover in God, what he is not, than what hee is: and imperfections which cannot possibly suit with him, doe sooner present themselves to our imaginations, than perfections, though absolutely essentiall in him.

A ſmall errour was ſoone eſpied in certaine pictures *Apelles* expoſed in publike, but a thouſand excellent touches therein were not at all obſerved. *Philopæmons* dwarf like ſtature was contemned, but the magnanimity of his ſpirit uncommended. One houre of Eclipſe cauſeth the Sunne to be more gazed at, than a thouſand cleare dayes. All men looke upon the Sunne in Eclipſe, but there never was any, ſave one onely *Eudoxus*, who loſt his ſight by the over great pleaſure he tooke in fixedly beholding thoſe glorious beames. Thoſe ſouldiers who followed *Ceſars* triumph, publiſhed his vices, but concealed his victories. Briefly, one ſingle imperfection among a million of excellent endowments in a publike perſon, is ſufficient to ſtirre up the ſting of tongues. As one onely ulcer in a ſound body, is enough to draw flyes to fall upon it. So as the moſt certaine triall of a vertue appearing in publike, is the good reputation and common approbation of the people, by ſo much the leſſe ſuſpected when it praiſeth, as it is more inclinable to carpe, than commend: and in

that nature and custome inclining it to invectives, there had need be a very solid subject to draw it to commendations. The generall voyce is very defective in what concerneth the knowledge of such truths as we are to follow, and in the election of those good things we are to affect; since the senses, not reason rule these decrees. And truely herein this sentence is verified, *That the greatest voyce is the worst.* But in the approbation or reprobation, in the blame or praise of publike persons, experience hath almost at all times verified this contrary Maxime: *The voyce of the people is the voyce of God.* And it is a strange thing to consider, how that which causeth them to erre in the judgment of generall truth, keepes them from erring so easily in the approbation of particular actions: The reason is, for that before they approve any action, but chiefly a publike one concerning themselves, as being good, and just, it is necessary the benefit be so cleare, so evident, and palpable, as to cause it selfe to be perceived by its utility, and to discover it selfe by its owne clearenesse.

Setled and well framed ſpirits, judging by Maximes, preſently perceive a farre off, the good of a publike action; but the muddy-brain'd multitude judging onely by the ſenſe, ſeeth not at all, but when experience hath ſo manifeſted it unto them as there is no queſtion to be made: It knoweth not how to commend, but when it taſteth the fruit. Wherefore in this point, the voyce of the people is ordinarily an Oracle. Beſides, the knowledge of what is worthy of honour, is generall to all, and is often more cleare in thoſe, in whom art hath not corrupted nature, and who not knowing how to cloake ill, by reaſons, precepts, and apparances of good, cannot admit nor approve good but in its naked purity, and in the ingenuity of its naturall grace.

Moreover, God often pronounceth his judgements by the mouth of the people. *Balaams* ſhe-Aſſe ſpeakes, and God inſpireth words. Sucking babes unlooſe the ſtring of their ſtammering tongues to praiſe vertuous perſons: now it is God himſelfe who makth uſe of babes and ſucklings, to raiſe

the praiſes of vertuous perſons to farther perfection: they afford the tongue, God gives the motion; the ſuffrage is from earth, but the ſentence from heaven.

All this proves, how the common voice of the people in the praiſe and commendation of famous perſons, ſeldome ſtrayeth from truth: and chiefly when it is not onely a common and univerſall voyce, but a conſtant, firme, and perſevering approbation. For, to be onely approved by the people for ſome ſhort time, or during the heat of ſome plauſible action, is rather to be eſteemed a ſudden flaſh of fortune, than any true teſtimony of merit: it is rather a reproach than a glory: ſince this may well happen to moſt wicked perſons, to the ſeditious, to *Saturnines*, to *Gracchies*. But to be conſtantly, and with perſeverance commended by common ſuffrages, cannot bee other than juſtly, and with reaſon. *Phocion* himſelfe, and *Ariſtides* have not enjoyed this priviledge, to whom though vertue hath not beene deficient, yet hath good fortune fayled them. And truely, to conſerve

constantly an untainted reputation, amidst so many affections, opinions, judgements, passions, motions, various interests, among so divers oppositions, affaires, difficulties, favours, disgraces, alterations, vicissitudes, and worldly revolutions; I cannot say whether one hath more need of integrity, of prudence, or of good fortune; or rather of an equall share in all the three: The gold is well refined that abideth this touch, the liquor well purified which passeth by this Alembeck, the childe worthy of *Sparta* which this vineger tryeth; the lot very legall that swims upon this *Rone*, the Palme very strong which boweth not under this burthen; the onely and singular *Alpheus* which conserveth the sweetnesse of his waters, through the brackish waves of this Sea: and that name is happy and right fortunate, which can passe through so many censures, without being interessed, and by so many mouthes without being blasted.

CHAP.

Chap. 10.

Of the obligation concerning a good reputation for profiting the publicke.

THis generall consideration of the reputation which accompanies the vertue of publicke persons, opens mee the way to speake more particularly of what concerneth this subject. And first, of the obligation which they who desire to profit the publicke, haue, to endeavour to acquire, and conserve this good repute. A good reputation maketh not the vertue greater, but onely more illustrious; it affordeth it not any farther perfection, but greater glory; and as the light of the Sunne addeth nothing to the beauty of the Vniverse, but doth onely manifest it, and expose it to sight: so honour is a light which augmenteth not, but discouereth the beauty of vertue: Praise increaseth not, but declareth merit. Now it is

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not ſufficient for man (borne for ſociety) to be good in himſelfe, if he appeare not ſo to others, and that he be acknowledged for a good man, not ſo much for his priuate glory, as for the publike avayle; ſince if contenting himſelfe with the teſtimony of his priuate conſcience, he neglect that of a good name: he is unjuſt toward himſelfe, depriuing himſelfe of the honour due to vertue; and more unjuſt toward others in fruſtrating them of the fruit of that good example he oweth them. For it is another fruit of honour, that by making vertue more illuſtrious, he thereby maketh it more uſefull, and by how much he cauſeth it to be more cognoſcible, the more profitable doth he make it; the prayſe he produceth being as a ſacred ſeed cauſing either the ſecret reproach of the oppoſite vice, or the deſire of a like vertue to ſpring in all hearts. It is moreover the nature of good to become more profitable, the farther it is diffuſed. Whence it is, that all things naturally have either ſeed to communicate by the production of their ſemblables whatſoever good they have, or an incli-

inclination to diffuse themselves to the end to communicate them. Salt hath not its savour, but to the end to bestow it; Muske its scent, but to impart it; the Sun its light, but to make it common. All whatsoever hath any perfection capable of communion, is borne for others: should vertue then alone be to it selfe? should it be solitarie in the world, or so envious, as to hide her beauty, or so particular, as thereof to deprive the publicke? If she conceale the good she hath through envy, she is criminall, if by negligence, she is vitious, if to avoyd the danger of vanity, her over-advisednesse makes her timorous, and this over-much feare reprehensible. It is requisite she avoid her detriment, yet not that she abandon her duty. Vertue beareth the obligation of profiting the Publicke continually annexed thereto, and the generality have right to demand this debt of her, whereof shee cannot duely discharge her selfe, without endeauouring to acquire and conserue a good fame in producing laudable and inimitable actions. *Let men see your good workes,* saith the

Scripture: whereupon diuers learned Diuines haue held, that although euery man be absolute master of his owne goods to giue or dispose them at his pleasure, yet that he is not absolute disposer of his fame, but onely the faithfull guardian and dispencer thereof; he oweth the conseruation thereof to the publike, though hee neglect it for his owne particular: nay, though he were Master, yet so it is (as the Civilians say) it concerneth the Common-wealth, that priuate persons should not mis-employ their goods; how much more then that they wrong not their reputation? If therefore the good fame of priuate persons be the publicke intrest, what shall wee say of that of publicke persons, and of such who raised up to the throne of honors, are obliged to cause their vertues to appeare by so much the more illustrious, as it is farther exposed to the view of all men, and by so much the more profitable, since it ought to be usefull to all others?.

That degrees and

The ranke they hold sufficiently sheweth, what they ought to be, and what man-

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ner of persons they ought to appeare. Doe we not plainely see, how whatsoeuer is most high, and eminent in the Vniuerse, hath more glosse and majestie then the rest? So as one would say, that nature desired to deuide to each thing; either beauty according to the ranke, or a ranke proportionable to its beauty. The celestiall bodies raysed on high above the rest, as upon the fane or pinacle of this beautifull Temple of the world, have they not likewise more splendor than all other bodies, and seemeth it not that the clarity they have, maketh them worthy the place they possesse? Among elementary bodies, fire holding the highest place, is it not the most pure? and the earth enjoying the lowest ranke, is it not inferiour to all the rest, as well in beauty as situation? In the order and disposition of the parts, whereof mans body is so gracefully composed; the face as most eminent, is it not accompanied with a greater variety of graces, adorned with more attractions, animated with more lively colours; and the eyes placed in the upper part of the face, as

dignities do particularly oblige publicke persons to conserue their reputation, as in the world, and in man the little world; the parts which hold the most eminent places, have more luster and beauty than the rest

ſtars in the firmament of this little world, ſhew they not in their excellency (far ſurpaſſing all other parts) the juſtice nature obſerves in the diſtribution of rankes? Are not theſe, as it were ſecret inſtructions given by nature to thoſe who hold the higheſt dignities among men, to rayſe (by a good reputation) the ſplendor of their vertues, in equality with their ranks, and to ſhew themſelves moſt worthy of honour, as it importeth they ſhould be moſt honoured, as being the face and eyes of the States body, the Sunne and firmament of the Commonwealth? when the earth ſheweth clearer than the skies, and the feet fairer than the face; is it not a prodigy in nature, a monſter in reaſon, and a diſorder in policy?

That a good name is needfull for publicke perſons, for the authorizing their dignity and vertue.

Now beſides the degree they hold, the very ſervice they owe to the publicke, obligeth them to the care and obſervation of their renowne, without which all their actions being without reputation, will prove unprofitable, and all their adviſes as the Oracles of *Caſſandra*, hiſſed at, and rejected, how good or true ſoever they be. For as the

Coyne

Coyne not marked with a lawfull ſtampe, paſſeth not in matter of merchandize, though it be of good gold or ſilver: ſo the words and actions, not carrying the marke of a good reputation, ſuit not with generall approbation, even when they are juſt, and may be uſefull. The ſubſtance is good, but the ſtampe is rejected. Truth it ſelfe loſeth its grace and weight in the mouth of ſuch as are ſuſpected of vice and untruth, and even vertuous actions are not readily received, comming from ſuch whoſe innocency is queſtionable. We feare them, as we doe Preſents ſent from enemies, either that they are miſtaken, or that they ſeeke to deceive. No man will beleeve (as the fable ſaith) that the Foxe will give ſound adviſe, or that the Wolfe can doe good, the skinne is ſuſpected though the counſell be ſound. Who knoweth not, that in a certaine ancient Republicke, a good law which a ſuſpected perſon propounded, would never be admitted before the ſame, was propoſed by a perſon of knowne integrity? So much doth ſuſpition enervate, & a good eſteeme maintain credit.

Nor doth the defect of a good renowne onely breed ſuſpition, but even ſcorn, which doth utterly ruine authority, and (therwith) all the fruit of ſageſt counſels, and faireſt actions. Opinion rules all the world, and ſetteth the value on all things, yea even on men, and on vertue it ſelfe: It extendeth its empire, or (if you pleaſe to have it ſo) its uſurpation over the moſt ſacred things: and vertue it ſelfe I meane, that generous vertue vaunting to extract her eſtimation from her ſelfe, ſeeth her ſelfe conſtrained (if ſhe deſire authority) to begge it of opinion. If ſhe reſt ſatisfied with her owne conſcience, ſhe muſt be forced to pleaſe her ſelfe in print: but if ſhe will appeare, and make her ſelfe uſefull to men, ſhee muſt neceſſarily have two witneſſes if ſhe intend to be receiueable: and that to the priuate teſtimony of the conſcience, ſhe adde the ſuffrage of publicke eſteeme.

CHAP.

Chap. 11.

Of the meanes to acquire, and conserve a good renowne.

But to acquite, and conserve this good name, so necessary for the maintenance of the authoritie of vertue, and the dignity of high charges: the most assured meanes is that which King *Agesilaus* sheweth us: *To say that which is good, and to do that is honest*: which in a word is, to shew our selues irreprehensible in our counsels, and actions. If you will have good renowne, learne to speake well, and to do better (saith *Epictete* in *Strabo*). Whereupon *Socrates* giveth this briefe instruction to Magistrates, for the acquiring a good name, to wit, to endevour to be the same they would appeare. For both mines of gold, and springs of water, though hidden, do notwithstanding continually send forth certaine marks upon

The first meanes is avoyding ill

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upon the ſurface of the earth, which diſcover them, the former ſmall graines of gold, the latter cooleneſſe and humidity: So likewiſe true vertue engraven in the ſoule, daily ſendeth forth certaine and evident ſignes of her preſence, & as flaſhes of her light. Diſſimulation may counterfeit truth, but never imitate her, and leſſe perfectly repreſent her. The Ape beareth certain touches of mans face, but every man ſtill knowes it for an Ape. The painted grapes of that ancient Limmer, had the forme and colour of true ones, but they deceived onely birds. The counterfeit Cow of *Myron*, deluded onely other cattell. The apples of *Sodome* deceive the eye beholding them, but not the hand touching them. Counterfeit gold may impoſe true apparances upon the eye, but it cannot coſen the teſt. Apparances and pretexts, may well diſguiſe vice, but facts will manifeſt it: and if *Midas* have Aſſes eares, hee is much the nearer to hide them, or to ſtoppe mens mouthes; when Reedes and Canes having neither eyes to ſee, nor eares to heare, will finde a tongue

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to discover and divulge it. *There is nothing so hidden, but comes to light*, (saith the Scripture.) A good name, and chiefly in men elevated to honour, is a tender businesse, and of the nature of flowers, which lose their smell and grace if they be but onely touched. It is therefore not onely necessary to preserve it from blame by avoyding ill, but even from suspition, in eschewing whatsoever carryeth the shadow thereof: blame foyleth honour, suspition blasteth it: and though, after difference, vertue rest entire, yet doth the authority thereof remain wounded: and as the Sunne eclipsed by the opposition of the gloomy body of the Moon, remaineth still cleare in it selfe, but darkesome to us. So vertue eclipsed by the mischievous encounter of suspition and publicke distrust, though she be at all times cleare and shining in her selfe, yet so it is, that she becommeth obscure and useless for others.

To leave one terme, is not to touch the other. To avoyd evill is as much as not to be ill, but it is not presently to be good. Ver- 2 In producing the workes of vertue.

tue (saith the Philosopher) tendeth to operation: to avoyd blame, is not to be reproachable, but it is not instantly to be commendable. Praise is due onely to vertuous actions: but to flye vice, and practise vertue, to avoyd reproach and merit glory, is the perfection. It is from thence the splendor of a faire and solid renowne resulteth. Men cannot praise, but what they prize, nor prize but what they know; nor know but what they discover. Vertue appeareth not, it is hidden in the soule, but the reputation her workes produce in the opinion of men, is a light causing her to be both admired and reverenced. To this purpose the Astrologers say, that we see not the Sunne, but the light thereof onely: and the Philosophers, that we discover not the presence of spirituall substances, but by their actions. The good odour discovers the Muske, good workes vertue. Wee see not God, the Angels, the soule, nor the winde, but we perceive Gods presence in the world; the Angels in their place, the soule in the body, the winde in the ayre, by their effects: of

God

God by his Providence, of the Angels by his wonders, of the ſoule by its diſcourſe, of the winde by its blaſt. Wouldſt thou have thy vertue commended? let us ſee it. Deſireſt thou we ſhould ſee it? cauſe it to operate, ſhew her workes, and we ſhall perceive her preſence, afford us her fruits, and we will returne her due commendations. How wilt thou have us know, that thou art in poſſeſſion thereof, if thou produceſt it not, or that it is living in thee, if it have no operation? It cannot be without living, nor live without working. Habitude (ſaith the Philoſopher) is in the power, vertue in the action; vertue cannot be idle, if ſhee be ſo, ſhe dyes, if ſhe dyes, ſhe is no more. Fire leaves to be, when it gives over burning; the ſpring dryeth up when it leaveth running; the tree dyeth when it putteth forth no more leaves. The Crocodile (as they ſay) leaves to live, when he makes an end of growing: the heart loſeth life as ſoone as motion. The life of all things ends with their operation. So vertue ceaſing to operate, is eyther not any longer any thing, or

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will ſpeedily be reduced to nothing. She is either dead, or drawing on towards her end, her vigour is extinguiſhed with her action, and her idle languiſhing and dying habitude onely remaineth.

Chap. 12.

Of the ordering of life and manners, which is the other head of Politicke Iuſtice towards himſelfe.

Vertuous actions then are neceſſary, both for the conſervation of vertue, and for the production of honour and praiſe, which is her light & luſtre. Here may enter, nay here ought all vertues to meet, not onely Politicke, but even thoſe vertues proper to a private man, as temperance, chaſtity, ſobriety, humility, modeſty, benignity, and others, which regulate their lives and manners, who are therewith adorned: theſe being not preciſely neceſſary in

a Magiſtrate, as a Magiſtrate, but very fitting as he is a man, and more as he is a Chriſtian; Nay, I ſay as a Magiſtrate, he ought to poſſeſſe them in a higher degree than the vulgar, ſince in a ſelected perſon, nothing ought to be ordinary, but all choice, all high, and all proportionable to the place he holdeth: For as man (as touching the body) participateth of the elements with beaſts, and plants, but yet in a more excellent manner, proportionable to the dignity of his reaſonable nature, rayſing him above the reſt of corporall things: ſo thoſe vertues practiſed in a ſlacke manner among the people, ought in Princes and Magiſtrates to be farre more eminently exerciſed. For they being inſtituted not onely for the maintenance of peace, but of good manners likewiſe among the people, they owe for the one, vigilancy, and conduct, for the other, example and good life, and if peace requiſite in ſociety, be not ordained, and appointed but to cauſe them to live vertuouſly, and according to the lawes of juſt reaſon, it ſeemeth that thoſe who governe them, are not ſo

much redevable for their good guidance in causing them to live in peace, as for their good example in procuring them to live well. The one is but the meane, the other the end. Wherefore it is, that not onely Politicke vertues, but all the rest likewise are right necessary in Magistrates, even by the lawes of Pagans, and by the decrees of humane wisedome. Who knoweth not the *Carthaginian* law, commanding such a temperance, as it even obliged men to abstaine from wine? Who is not acquainted with the Roman lawes, so strictly enjoyning Chastity to Senators, and to others rayled to honours, as the privation of their dignity was the penaltie of their impudicity? It is apparant that *Quintus Curtius*, (of an Illustrious family) was degraded from the Senate by the Censors for his adulteries, and that *Lucius Sulpitius*, of a Consulatie family, for a small suspition of incontinency, was not onely dismissed from his dignity, but moreover cast into prison? Who hath not read what that ancient Chancellour to *Thierry*, King of the

Salust. in Coniur. Catilina.

Goths said; *That Purple could not be dyed, but by Mayden hands:* which sufficiently sheweth how it cannot be worne but by modest persons. Who is ignorant what the same King *Thierry* writ to a certain person whom he appointed for Iudge: *Be, said he, the Temple of Innocency, the sanctuary of temperance, the Altar of Iustice; let every profane thing bee farre removed from so sacred a charge, under a religious Prince, Magistracie ought to be a kind of Priesthood.* I allodge this, not to swell paper, but to confirme my proposition, that even humane lawes, without speaking of Christian and divine obligations, though farre more perfect and strict in this case, require in those who govern, besides the vertues necessary for good government, those likewise requisite for well living. For how can any expect to be rightly governed by him, who lives disorderly himselfe? by his conduct, who knowes not how to guide himselfe? or looke for publicke and punctuall discipline from him, who suffers passions and vices to beare chiefe sway in his private family? If an ancient Author say,

That

That he who is not a kinde husband, cannot be a good Senator: and the Apoſtle, *That hee who ruleth not well his family, cannot governe the Church well*: How can he who is not an honeſt man, ever prove a good Magiſtrate, or that he who ſuffers ſhipwracke of a good conſcience, ſhould have care of the Common-wealth? He (ſaith S. *Baſile*) who ſuffereth himſelfe to be tranſported by Paſſion, how can he governe others by reaſon? He, in whom will, ſenſuality, and a very beaſt beare ſway, how can he be thought fit to governe men? He who no longer will doe himſelfe iuſtice, how can hee afford it to his neighbour? The man who is miſchievous to himſelfe, how can he be good to others, ſaith holy Writ. Can one communicate what he hath not, or give what is not in his power? The Goſpell ſaith, *We gather not Grapes from Thornes, nor Figs from Thiſtles*. This ſheweth the connexion and tye, which is betweene Politicke vertues, and thoſe in a private perſon, which indeed are as the Baſis and ground of the former, as nature is before dignity, the man before the Magi-

Magistrate, and the substance before the accident. The Iustice which each man oweth to himselfe, obligeth him, first to regulate his soule, his affections, his passions, his motions and vices; and then hee shall become the more capable to render Iustice to others, by how much hee shall know by himselfe what is due unto them. Naturall and divine lawes doe onely propose our selves to our selves for a rule and measure of what we owe to our neighbours.

Moreover, the ordering and suppression of passions and vices is requisite in Magistrates, by reason these darken the understanding, deprave the affections, and make man incapable to give good and wholsome counsell; since the vicious and irregular soule, either sees not what is good, through imprudence, or suppresseth it out of malice; but also by reason the vices and excesses of those who governe, doe at all times draw after them the ruine of States. Luxury, ryot, and intemperance, draw them to great expences; and prodigall expences, to extortions, injustices and violencies. *One*

Steph. Tornacensis. 215.

abysse drawes on another; said an ancient Bishop of *France*. The pit of pleasures drawes on the gulfe of expences, and the abysse of expences, that of rapines. Thence it is, that the ancient Roman lawes prescribed the measure and mediocrity in matter of apparrell, traine, and table, to all those who governed the Common-wealth. For, in truth, all vices in great persons are prejudiciall to the Publicke, since neither fire, water, greatnesse, or power, cannot exceed their limits; but this excesse doth speedily overthrow all the ordinary bounds, and all the most commodious preventions in the world. These observing order, are most usefull; but quitting once their confines, they become most pernicious. The Sunne quickning all things by its light, causeth all to quake at its Eclipse. If avarice possesse them, extortion followes; if ambition, private plottings; if choler, cruelties; if hatred, revenge; if envy, looke for commotions, the overthrow of all States.

Who knowes not that the hatred of *Marius* against *Silla*, of *Aman* against *Mordocheus*

cheus, of *Theophilus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, against Saint *Iohn Chryſoſtome*, of *Licinius* against *Conſtantine* the Great, tranſported the firſt to the ruine of all the City of *Rome*; another to deſtroy the whole nation of the Iewes; a third to diſturbe all the Eaſterne Church; and the laſt to proſecute all the Chriſtians within his Empire. Of ſo great importance is it, that the paſſions of great perſons ſhould be contained by the bridle of reaſon, as the furie of wilde beaſts under iron and chaines. So wofull a thing it is, when a foole and a ſword, vice and authority, paſſion and power meete together. But vertues concerning the government of particulars, are yet neceſſary in publicke perſons, for a concluding conſideration; to wit, for the acquiring reputation and good fame, being things of no meane conſequence for the maintaining authority. For, though men be obliged to reverence power, ſo it is notwithſtanding, that they cannot reverence it heartily, unleſſe it be viſibly accompanied with a good life. Otherwiſe they cauſe us to be of *Salvians* opinion: *That dignity*

in an unworthy person, is an ornament in the dirt: Or as Saint *Basil* said, *That he who is a servant to sinne, is unworthy to be master over men.*

D. Basil. orat. de Princip.

True it is, that nature made all men equall, but if order will have a distinction of rankes, Iustice ought to make this distinction, and merit the election. And though both divine and humane lawes command us to honour out superiours, though vicious and irregular; yet so it is, as we distinguish in this case, betweene the dignity and the person, betweene the Image of *Isis*, and the Asse that carried her. Reverence is alwayes slacke, and subject to the least oppositions and chances, when it is, as it were divided betweene honour and scorne.

It followes therefore, that the true means to maintaine the honour of any office, is to joyne thereto a good life, which causeth the person to be reverenced.

CHAP.

Chap. 13.

Of good Example, which is the first duty of Politicke Iustice towards the Publicke.

HEreon depends the last office of Iustice, concerning those things the Magistrate oweth to the Publicke; being no other than good example, vigilancy, solicitude, fidelity, and love to publicke good. Hee oweth to himselfe the study of vertue, for ordering his life, and the honour of his dignity: he oweth it to the publicke for a patterne and subject of imitation. The Philosopher sayes; *That the iust man is the rule and measure to all others.* Since being what all men ought to be, he sheweth to all what each man ought to doe. And truely, since the rule of mans life is no other than the law of just reason, hee who liveth accordingly, is he not the living law, and he animated rule of all other mens lives? Now who better deserveth to be a director and

Arist. Bonus omnium mensura.

moderator of men, then he who may be the rule of their lives? and who can better regulate their lives, than hee who rightly directeth them? To whom can it better belong to govern them, than to him who is able to rule them; or to rule them, than to him who rightly governs them. To whom better suiteth, eyther power seconded by vertue, capable to conduct men to their true end; or vertue, armed with power to draw them thereto? The States and Policies regulating humane society, ayme (as I have lately toached) not onely to cause men to live peaceably, but vertuously likewise, and sutable to the lawes of reason, being the true good of man. This was the Maxime and ayme of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, and of the Roman Civilians; of whom *Tertullian* in his Apologeticke gives this testimony, that their lawes were neare approaching to innocency. And all those who have at any time eyther described, erected, or polished Republickes and Empires; but chiefly Christian States, which take their rule and levell

from Gods law, ayme at this one end: For (as an ancient Bishop of *France* said very gravely) *Moses* gave the forme of living to the Hebrewes, *Numa* to the Romans, *Phoroneus* to the Grecians, *Trismegistus* to the Egyptians, and the Sonne of God to Christians. Nay, they raise themselves higher, and aspire even to conduct men to God, concurring with spirituall power, and lending thereto forces and succours towards so pious an enterprise. Whereupon *Constantine* the Great was not in the wrong, when hee tearmed himselfe a Bishop out of the Church; since the same care and vigilancy which Bishops have within the Church to traine up soules to God, either by perswasion, example, commandement, or by the threats of the spirituall sword: the like had this religious Prince abroad in Policy concerning his State, by his perswasions, by his exemplary life, by his lawes, and by the power of the temporall sword. Not putting (by usurpation) the sickle of his authority into the Churches harvest; but zealously affording the charitable hand of publicke

Steph. Tornacensis. Epist. 166.

force

force to the reapers therein. Now Princes and those who have the administration of States under them, have double meanes to arrive to this end, whereto they ought to tend: justnesse of lawes and exemplarity of their lives. The law commands, forbids, permits, punisheth, recompenceth; commands good, forbids evill, permits what is indifferent, punisheth transgressions, rewardeth obedience. When example comes from whence law proceeds; without commanding, it commands the good in doing it; without forbidding, it forbids evill, in flying it; without speaking, it permits what is lawfull in practising it: & besides, it makes all men clearely see the equity of punishment, in avoyding what the law accounteth criminall, and the justice of recompence, in performing those things shee rewardeth. The law, for its enforcements, hath Iudges, Sergeants, Executioners, Tribunals, Gallowes, Whips, the Sword and constraint. Example hath onely mildenesse, attractions, sweetnesse, love, reason; yet doth it sooner reduce men under the yoake

of

of it? Empire, thus naked and disarmed, then the law, as well armed as it is. For, the arms of law can onely strike the body, but the shafts of example slide even into the heart and soule. Gayning the heart, the whole man is caught, the Will is enchained, the affections captivated, and are sooner drawn to their duty by the mildnesse of reason, than by the rigour of commandment. Men (saith *Seneca*) trust more to their eye, than their eares, to what they see, than to what they heare.

Besides (as the Philosopher sayes in his Ethickes) Good presented in particular, and single, doth more move by example, than in generall, and in grosse, as the law propounds it. Example hath more efficacy than Philosophy to teach, more perswasion than eloquence to incite, more authority than the law to command, and is of greater force than armes to compell: Without arguments it convinceth, without discourse it perswadeth, without menaces it commandeth, without Serjeants it constraineth, and forceth men; yea, even those who will neither

Arist. lib. 10 Eth. ca. 1.

ther credit reaſon, nor conſent to perſwaſion, nor obey authority, nor feare any force, cannot refuſe imitation to good example. And though the law, and force, have often more power to deter men from vice, yet at leaſt it cannot be denyed, but example hath greater power to incline them to vertue, which is the end of the law; and the ayme of its menaces and chaſtiſements. Example propoſeth vertue not as dead, in writing, but lively in action; it ſheweth reaſon, not imperious in its precepts, but attractive in its operations; it intimateth the law, not by the commandment of the ſuperiour, but by his life, which doth more powerfully command. And truely, ſince civill Lawyers ſay, that the Magiſtrate himſelfe is the living law, ough he not likewiſe to affirme, that his good example is a lively and perpetuall promulgation of the law? Hence ariſeth the obligation, tying thoſe who command, to joyne good example to juſt commandements, to eſtabliſh the one by the other, and not to deſtroy obedience in inferiours by neglect; or authority in themſelves.

ſelves, by vice; and in all men, good manners by licentiouſneſſe. But beſides the power, we are to obſerve the credit Example hath over hearts: Is there any thing more juſt, than from whence the law proceedeth, thence ſhould the modell for the obſervation thereof iſſue; and that the ſame power, intimating it as needfull to reaſon, ſhould make it gratefull to the will. Men whom nature hath made free, would not be ruled Deſpotically, and ſervilely (as the Philoſopher ſaith) but Royally and Politickly. They are rather to be induced by reaſon, than hated by conſtraint, and by ſhewing them by example the Iuſtice of commandements to cauſe the neceſſity of obedience to become voluntary by the deſire of imitation. But if the ſuperiour doe that himſelfe which he forbiddeth, or doth not the ſame he commandeth, hee either condemneth his law by his life, or his life by his law, ſhewing how eyther his law is unjuſt, or his life irregular, or both the one or other ridiculous.

To which purpoſe *Seneca* writing to *Lu-*

Seneca ad Lucil. Ep. 30 si tibi omnia subjicere vilis, te subjice rationi, multos reges si ratio te rexerit.

cilius, ſpake a word to be engraven in the hearts of all Commanders. If thou wilt (ſaith he) ſubject all things under thee, ſuffer thy ſelfe to be ruled by reaſon; if reaſon rule thee, thou ſhalt rule the world.

Moreover, greatneſſe and dignity draweth a ſtrict obligation with it of ſhining by good example, and of imitating the Sunne and Starres, which are not elevated above the heavens, but to ſhew day to the earth. So as if inferiour bodies take their light from ſuperiour ones, is it not requiſite, that in humane ſociety, meane perſons take it of Magiſtrates as the earth doth from heaven? If in the order of the Hierarchicall glory, the higher degrees (as Saint *Denis* ſaith) illuminate, purifie, and perfectionate thoſe of inferiour orders: if in the order of Grace, the Angels inlighten, inſtruct, and purifie our ſoules, inferiour unto them: if in the order or nature, the celeſtiall bodies afford day, ornament, and Grace to elementary bodies, is it not fitting for the accompliſhment of univerſall order, that in the œconomie of Policy, thoſe who are as heavens and Angels

gels to other men, ſhould enlighten, purifie, and elevate them to perfection, by the example of their vertues? The law of God obligeth them thereto in divers ſorts, both by the name he giveth them, calling them the *little Gods* of men, and by the commandement hee enjoyneth them to ſhine in good workes: and by the charge which hee impoſeth upon them, to regulate their inferiours, and by the ranke he alloweth them above others, and by the menaces of a more ſevere judgement, and more rigorous pains he intimateth unto them in caſe of tranſgreſſion.

For, their life is of ſuch conſequence, as it gives the motion and inclination to all people; all ages leane to that ſide where the ballance takes it draught; inclining eyther to the left hand toward vice, or to the right toward vertue, by the eſtimate of their example. Such as are the governours of the Citie, ſuch are the Inhabitants (ſaith the ſpirit of God in the Scripture,) they are not ſuch as his lawes would, but ſuch as his manners are: they harken not to his commande-

ments, they imitate his life; they regard not the dead law, but cast their eyes upon the living law, which caused this ancient Chancellour to *Thierry* King of the *Goths* to say; *That it is easier for nature to erre, than that a Prince should frame a Common-wealth unlike himselfe.* One shall sooner see Plants and living creatures fayle in the generation of their likes, Bryars to beare Roses, Poppies Pinkes, Brambles Bayes, Cypres trees Shrubs, Wolves Lambs, Hindes bring forth Lyons, and Buzzards Falcons. For wee shall never see Princes and Magistrates frame an age unlike themselves; Iust if they be wicked, regular if they be dissolute; chast if they be immodest; religious if they impious. Vnder *Romulus*, *Rome* was warlike; under *Numa* religious, under the *Fabritij*, continent; under the *Cato's*, regular; under the *Gracchi*, seditious; under the *Luculls* and *Antonines*, intemperate and dissolute; under *Constantine* the Great, the Empire is Christian; under *Iulian* idolatrous; under *Valens*, Arrian. The example of King *Ieroboam* caused the whole people of *Israel* to enter into

Cassiod. l. 3. var. Ep. 12. Facilius est errare naturam, quàm Principem dissimilem sui formare Rempublicam.

latry: whereas during the raignes of *David*, *Ezechias*, and *Josias*, religion and piety were seene to flourish. Wherefore the scandall, which the lives of great persons give, is called Man-slaughter in Scripture: since as S. *Augustine* relateth, he who liveth dissolutely in the sight of all men, killeth (as much as in him is) the soules of all such as observe him; inflicting death on all those who imitate him, and offering the like occasion even to those who follow him not. Sinne (saith Saint *Gregory*) hath a great and powerfull bait, when the dignity causeth the sinner to be honoured; and hardly can a man be perswaded not to imitate him, whom he is obliged to honour. His life is the rule of publicke discipline: his manners are a seale set upon the comportments of all men, and his example the common Prototype or Patterne, by which the world formes it selfe. So as this obligeth Princes, and Magistrates, exposed to the view of all, to become such, as if all men looke upon them, all might safely imitate them. They are to consider, that being raised to such eminency, Ose 1.

they

they are no leſſe expoſed to eyes and tongues, than high mountaines to haile and thunder; and that, as *Seneca* ſaith, *Thoſe who command, runne a greater hazard, than thoſe who are judged*; ſince theſe onely feare the ſentence of ſome Senate, which condemnes none but upon good proofes, and juſtly; whereas thoſe are expoſed to the indiſcreet cenſure of a raſh multitude: and that as *Iulius Cæſar* ſaid (in *Saluſt*) In a great fortune, liberty is ſmall: for if power hath much, obligation hath little, and that as *Boëtius* ſaid: To have willed evill is a miſerable thing, to have withall beene able to doe ill, is yet more miſerable.

Saluſt. in conjur. Catil. In maxima fortuna minima licentia eſt.

Boet. lib. 4. de Conſol. ſi miſerum voluiſſe mala, potuiſſe miſerius eſt.

CHAP.

Chap. 14.

Of vigilancy and solicitude, being the second duty of a Magistrate; Iustice toward the publicke.

Good example ought to be seconded by vigilancy and solicitude: Offices are not conferred upon any for themselves, but for others. These be noble and divine servitudes (saith *Xenophon*) honourable slaveries, whose fetters are of refined gold, (as the Emperour *Commodus* sayd) but, though of gold, they are still chaines, though honourable, they are still servitudes, yea therefore the rather chaines, since they tye men under colour of honour; and therefore the rather servitudes, because they oblige us to serve all, under the title of commanding all; and carrying onely the name of commandment they impose a duty, they require pains, and expect the effects of service. Their very name importeth this duty, and since the

name is drawne from the propriety of the thing, thereby to signifie it; he who sées himselfe honoured with an Office, what readeth he in such a name, but the burthen he hath taken upon his shoulders, and the presage of such toyles as he must necessarily undergoe? See'th he not how heat giveth the name to fire, light to the Sunne, courage to the Lyon, reason to man, the charge to honour, and labour to the charge? can hee counterfeit the name without shewing himselfe unworthy to beare it, or quit the care he commandeth, without losing the honour he communicateth? O how doe they abuse themselves (saith *Caius Marius* in *Salust*) who seeke to joyne in one, two incompatible things! the pleasures of sloath, and the recompence of vertue: Many (O yee Romans said farther this Statesman) when they sue for honours, shew themselves humble, diligent and industrious: but when they have attained their pretensions, they passe their lives in pride and loytering: but in mine opinion, I hold we are all obliged to doe quite contrary: For by how much

Three things do principally shew the care Magistrates owe to the publicke: 1. the name of Offices.

Salust. de Bello Iugurth. Ne illi fallunt, qui diversissimas res, pariter expetunt, ignavia voluptates, & praemia virtutis.

the

the Republicke is preferable to the Consulate and Prætorship; by so much ought we to contribute more care to administer that, than to demand this.

Ego existimo quanto ipsa Respublica plurisest quàm Consulatus, & Prætura; tanto maiori curæ illam administrari quàm hæc peti debere.

The origine of charges confirmes what their name signifieth: For nature having made all men equall, the superiority of one above another, proceedeth not but from necessity of conduct, for maintenance of order, and for avoyding confusion. Whence it is easie to see, that he who hath a dignity, enjoyeth it not for his owne ends, but for others: since being equall to others by his naturall condition, he is constituted over others, onely by reason of the obligation he hath to watch for them. So as at the same instant he is placed over all, hee obligeth himselfe to serve all, and sels them his owne liberty, when he accepteth the honour. If after this he will live to himselfe, and take no care for others, he forgetteth what he is, and what he oweth; and desiring to recover the liberty he hath sold, he obligeth himselfe to restore the honour he hath received in exchange. If thou wilt not doe me justice,

2 The origine of Offices.

be no longer King, ſayd a poore ſilly woman to Saint *Lewis* King of *France*, when one day this great King wearied with the toyle he tooke in hearing the complaints of his ſubjects, and in doing them juſtice in his owne perſon (as his holy cuſtome was) hee at length retired to take ſome reſt: a word which ſodainly ſtayed him, controlling his private neceſſities, to ſatisfie the publicke obligation of his office. Now therefore if the Soveraigne acknowledgeth himſelfe to be tyed to forſake his owne reſt, for the care he oweth to the publicke; can thoſe who onely repreſent his perſon, preſume to alter the obligation of their ſolicitude, converting it into occaſion of ſolace? ought they not acknowledge that the Soveraigne communicateth part of his authority unto them, to diſcharge himſelfe upon them, of ſome part of his obligation and care: Even as the Sunne imparteth part of his light to the Moone and Stars, to the end by their influences derived from his, they may cooperate with him toward the generation, conſervation, and (if I may ſo ſay) adminiſtration of things

things of this inferiour world. Know they not what *Salust* said to *Caius Cæsar*: *That all those who by their dignities possesse a ranke of more height and eminency than others, are likewise obliged to take more care than all others?*

Salust. ad Caium Cæsarem de Repub. ordinanda.

Moreover, the Scripture termeth them Sentinels, who are appointed over the people; and the ranke which raiseth them is as a loope-hole, from whence they ought to watch for the good of all, whilest others rest. The waking eye watching over the Scepter, and the Lyon, King of beasts, who sleepeth not but open-eyed, were the Hieroglyphicks the Egyptians made use of, to denote providence as associate to power, and vigilancy as inseparable from authority. God whose power extendeth it selfe over all creatures, doth likewise manifest his providence over all: he sendeth his eye as far as his Scepter; hee beholds with the one, whatsoever hee toucheth with the other. The Prophet *Ieremy* saw a watchfull rod; both to shew his power supereminent above all, and his mercy most vigilant over all things. The Angels to whom God hath

appointed the guidance of the heavens motions, the care of Empires, and charge of soules, cease not to watch continually; they never lose sight of what they have in charge. And the Prophet *Ezechiel* beheld them in forme of creatures full of eyes. The heavens commanding the Elements and all inferiour bodies, turne incessantly, keeping continuall watches about them: and the Sunne is placed on high to give light and to shew day to all, to rejoyce all, to quicken all, to be as the common father, and that by his heat to fructifie, and make apt for production all whatsoever is ingendred. Observe you not that his vigilancy executeth his charge, that his care enobleth his power, and how swiftly he runs; and like a Gyant (as the Prophet speaketh) leapes from one end of the heavens to another, in the execution of his office?

Man having the charge and conduct of all this inferiour world, casts his eye, his spirit, and care over all: he posts from Province to Province, crosses the seas, soundeth the depth, overpasseth mountaines, climes

rockes, deſcends precipices, opens the entrailes of the earth, ſearcheth into the vertues of living creatures, plants and minerals, diſpoſeth and applyeth all to the uſe appointed by nature, nor doth any thing, ſubject to his dominion, eſcape his providence. The wit of man which oweth direction to all in man; to his powers, his motions, his ſeverall members, and whole body; doe you not plainely ſee how it hath received from God a prompt, quicke, and active quality, to foreſee all theſe dangers, and to provide for all thoſe neceſſities? Briefly, whatſoever God hath eſtabliſhed in this world with any power and ſuperiority, doth beare witneſſe of his providence over all things ſubjected unto him? Care doth at all times attend on power, the rod is watchfull, the Lyon holds his eyes open, and the eye accompanieth the Scepter. Are not theſe ſo many leſſons to thoſe, who conſtituted in dignity, are as the moving ſpirits, the heavens, the Suns, the Intelligences, and the petty Gods of this world: to ſhew, that as ſpirits they owe us vigilancy, as heavens, expedition; as Suns,

light,

light; as Angels, tuition; and as Gods their care and providence. If publicke charge be conferred upon thee, be not puffed up above the reſt, but have care of them, ſaith the ſpirit of God in Scripture. Honours and Offices are not ſubjects of ambition, but of care and travaile. Beſides, it is an unworthy thing, after one hath ſought for offices, as though hee merited the ſame, to behave himſelfe therein as though he ſcorned them.

Chap. 15.

Of Integrity, which is the third duty of the Juſtice requiſite in a Magiſtrate towards the publicke.

INtegrity followes in the next place, without which all the reſt are but hurtfull; providence provideth but for its private intereſt; exteriour exemplarity doth but gild or plaiſter covetouſneſſe; good fame is but a bait to intrap; ſeeming

seeming piety but a cloak for dishonesty, and prudence but a forge of all iniquity. In a word, all other qualities without Integrity, (mother of fidelity) are but instruments of particular profit, and publick losse. It is the most requisite part (as the Apostle saith) in œconomists and Stewards of houshold, such as publick Magistrates are, who having only the trust and dispensature of power in their Offices, cannot without publick injury, seeke after their propriety. And the Gospell speaking of the good servant constituted over a family, cals him faithfull, and prudent, giving fidelity the first place, as being first in the order of necessity, though posteriour in order of nature, and dignity. And truely, fidelity, though without prudence, seeketh at least the publick good, though it finde it not; but prudence voyd of integrity, seeketh nothing lesse. Imprudent integrity, if it chance to hurt, it is unwillingly; but unfaithfull prudence both hurteth and endeavoureth to bee harmfull; the former is in some sort excusable, the later is merely malitious: besides, the one

may happily do some good by chance, since it is inclinable thereto; whereas the other cannot but do mischiefe, since it aymeth only thereat, upon the matter: It is easie to be observed in History, that if imprudent fidelity hath been the ruine of one City, prudent infidelity hath overthrown a hundred; and that for one errour the former hath faln into through indiscretion, the later hath comitted thousands of faults upon set purpose. Was *Rome* ever more powerfull than when it was most simple, and least subtile? but so soon as it became learned, and more prudent, was it not at the very brink of its ruine? This is not to prove that ignorance raysed it, or that prudence ruined it, but only to shew how the integrity of her innocent age, though rude and grosse, caused her to flourish, and how the corruption of her riper age, though farre more wise and subtile, did at length overthrow her: and to prove, that simplicity joyned with fidelity, profiteth more than prudence, (if malice merit that title) with particular interest.

So long as their Commanders refused the

Sabines

Sabines gold, and *Pirrhus* his presents; whilst (as *Salust* saith) they desired eminent glory, and indifferent wealth; whilst they disdayned not to match the conquering Laurell with the labouring Coulter, the Arch triumphall with the toyling Cart, dignity with frugality, this flourishing Republick daily more and more extended the limits of her large dominions, even to become Mistresse of the world. But so soon againe as the ambition, avarice, and infidelity of Magistrates had reduced her to so sad a desolation; that the houses of particular persons (as the Roman Orator saith of *Mark Antonies*) became Marts, where whole Provinces were set to publick sale, and where all was venall; her selfe (sayd the King of *Numidia*) being to bee bought, if Chapmen could have been found for her; shee then began by little and little, to settle from her greatnesse; and altering her ancient form of government, shee withall changed both state and fortune. What was it that so often exposed *Athens* and the other Græcian Republicks to the fury of forrain

Salust. de Conjur. Cat.

Cic. Philip. 2.

Salust de bello Iugur. Et ipsa Roma venalis esset, si haberet emptorem.

and civill warres, and in concluſion to their finall overthrow? not want of capacity, but defect of fidelity? *Greece* never ſo flouriſhed with Philoſophers, Orators, and eminent Statesmen, as when her proſperity began to decline. But (as it is ſaid) that when *Caſtor* riſeth, *Pollux* ſetteth, and when *Nilus* ſwelleth, other rivers ſettle; ſo ſufficiency augmenting, integrity diminiſheth; tongues turned golden, manners ſteely; wits puffed with ſcience, empty of perfect prudence: Gold breedeth the ſquinzy in the mouthes of ſome; Ambition breeds apoſtumes in the hearts of others: Fortreſſes though otherwiſe inexpugnable by ſouldiers armed with iron, yet can they not maintayn the breach againſt Aſſes loaden with gold. Loyalty becomes vendible, and Cities alſo, and, in proportion, as corruption encreaſeth, proſperous fortune decayeth. It is ſaid, that where gold groweth, no plant will proſper; all withers in that ſoyle, all is barren; ſo likewiſe in thoſe parts where the love of gold taketh root, not any good or wholſome counſell can ſpring, vertue withers there,

fidelity

fidelity ſwooneth away, proſperity periſheth, and the greatneſſe of Empires roll on to their utter ruine. Since gold began to creep into credit (ſayd *Seneca*) the true honour of all things is faln to ground; wee being mutually become Merchants, and Traffiquers, no further enquiry what each thing is, but only at what rate it is ſold: wee no longer love (ſaid the ſame Authour) vertue on free coſt: which notwithſtanding hath not any magnificence, if ſhee bee at all mercenary. Whereupon *Saluſt* writ to *Caius Cæſar*, as a true maxime of State, That in Republicks where gold and ſilver are in requeſt, vertue is diſcredited; ſince gold raviſheth all recompences due to vertue, and vertue barred of reward, hath nothing remayning but gaule and griefe. For though vertue be of it ſelfe amiable, yet ſo it is, that moſt men know not how to court her, but only for the honour and utility ſhe bringeth. So as gold (over powering and doing all) vertue becometh fruitleſſe, and is preſently unfollowed. Since only the golden key is able to open the doore to honours, men importu-

Sen. Ep. 115

Sen. c. 1. l. 4. de benef.

Saluſt. ad Cai. Cæſ. de Rep. ordin.

nately and preſſingly flock to uſury, peculates, cheatings, concuſſions, and deceipts, to hoard gold, which can and doth all things, and humane ſociety becomes a Park of ſavage creatures, where the weakeſt become a prey to the wealthieſt; or a Sea, where the greater fiſhes devoure the ſmall floaters. Then doth that happen which *Salvian* ſpake of the miſeries of his time. Thoſe honours which few purchaſe, all the world payes for; the poore which are not at the ſale, contribute to the charge. They are not culpable of the ambition of riches, yet beare they the burden. This cauſed *Licurgus* to baniſh gold from *Sparta*, purpoſing thereby to cut of all occaſions of ſuch diſorders. But it is not needfull to baniſh gold from Cities, but only to barre covetouſneſſe from ſeazing on ſoules. Covetouſneſſe, plague of all vertues, root of all vices, ſpring of all perfidiouſneſſe, mother of all miſchiefes, and which (as the Trojan Horſe) produceth the ſubverſion of all States. For ſince thoſe who ſhould ſtudy the publick good, have no other ayme than their private intereſt,

Salvian. de providentia. Dignitates quas pauci emunt, omnes ſolvunt, pauperes emptiones neſciunt, & ſolutionem ſciunt,

intereſt, doth not the like happen to the body Politick as would fall out in humane bodies; if the ſtomack, appointed to concoct meat for all the members, ſhould only performe this office for it ſelfe; or if the lungs, whoſe office it is to cómunicate reſpiration to the whole body, ſhould keep it ſolely to it ſelfe, the body receiving this wrong from the noble parts, could not ſubſiſt; and civill ſociety enduring a greater from thoſe, from whom it ought to expect conſervation, how can ſhe avoyd her utter ruine?

Chap. 16.

Of the miſchiefes which the reſpect of private profit produceth.

Firſt, the reſpect of private intereſt ſmothers (in all counſels profitable for the publick) all the good whatſoever prudence conceiveth, malice deſtroying it before it appeares; whereupon ſufficiency becomes unſerviceable; and no ſooner

ſooner doth *Philips* gold begin to ſhine, but *Demoſthenes* his mouth is ſtopt; ſo ſoone as
Eccl.20. the eyes are dazled, the mouth is ſilent, (ſaith the Scripture.) Beſides, this paſſion is a miſt darkning the underſtanding, cauſing it to reſemble the ſore eye, not ſeeing things as they are, but as it ſelfe is, not receiving the true colours of objects, but imprinting therein its owne. So the ſpirit preoccupated by private intereſt, cannot (in conſultation) diſcern the truth of things, regarding only its proper vice in all places; and, even in publick, ayming only at his owne particular: his profit is a perpetuall object unto him in all his counſels, he in all things ſeeth his beloved gold, he finds it all over, changing into gold, not as *Midas*, all he toucheth, but whatſoever he ſeeth. Whereupon *Ta-*
Tac.l.1.hiſt. *citus* uttered this true maxime; That private profit is the poyſon of ſound judgement, and of the right affection of men. And *Ti-*
Tit.Liv.l.22 *tus Livius*, That private affaires have at all times, and ever will corrupt publick counſels. Wherefore *Ariſtotle* in his Politicks
Ariſt. lib. 3. Polit cap. 3. ſaith; The Theban Law forbade all men from

from medling with the publick, who had not abſtayned for ten yeeres from all traffique and merchandize.

Yet is not this all when we ſay, how this paſſion hindereth good counſels, blindeth the ſpirits, and deregulateth our wils: It farther produceth more fatall effects, when power furniſheth us with inſtruments for malice. It is the nature of fire never to bee ſatisfied with flaming, proportionably to the combuſtible matter it meets with; if it finde no ſubject to work upon, it quickly goeth out; if it have ſmall nouriſhment, it burnes ſlowly, and, as though abundance made it hunger-ſtarved, the more it findes, the faſter it devoures it, and the more it conſumeth, the more inſatiable it appeareth. This is the lively image of covetouſneſſe, which, as fire, converteth all to his private advantage. The matter it findes, quencheth it not, but quickens it, gayne ſlaketh it not, but provoketh it: it is petty in the poore, ardent in the rich, but ravenous in great ones; and when at any time it fals upon a great fortune, augmenting and mount-

ing like fire, it ruines Cities, and layes Empires waſte.

They whom the fire of paſſion doth once enflame, become abſolutly blinded; the like happening to them which *David* ſaid; *The fire is faln upon them, and they have not ſeen the Sunne.* They conſider not, that there is nothing ſo ſhamefull and baſe, as profit drawn from the groanes of miſerable perſons: it is as much (as Saint *Baſil* ſaith) to make our ſelves Horſe-courſers, Huckſters, and Pedlers of publick calamities. And as husbandmen deſire raine and ill weather to cauſe their graine to grow, ſo thoſe not only deſire, but (which is worſe) they covet to extend and amplifie the peoples afflictions, to rayſe themſelves out of their ruines, and to force them to ſhed teares, to ripen their gold, an accurſed harveſt of ſo fatall a ſeed.

Suetonius in Veſpaſiano. That Emperour who rayſed tribute upon urine, was perhaps only to bee laught at; but thoſe who by their concuſſions, and violences, force the teares of afflicted people to become tributary to their avarice, perpe-

trate

trate not only a base, but an inhumane act. Now though (as to this other) the mony thereby rayſed, is muskefied to themſelves, yet is it moſt ſtinking both to men who curſe them, and to God, who condemnes them.

Therefore the great miſchiefes which covetouſneſſe hatcheth, having regard only to private intereſt, ſufficiently ſhew how important and requiſit Integrity proceeding from Iuſtice, is to him who undertaketh a publick charge, who is not to reflect upon what is permitted to his power, but what is committed to his faith. It is a holy depoſiture, which faith ought to obſerve, & not ſuffer covetouſneſſe to convert it to its owne uſe, or rather abuſe. And if the Law terme that ſacred which is depoſited into the hands of particulars; how much more is that ſacred, which is committed to publick truſt? Integrity breeds fidelity, affordeth good counſels, nouriſheth prudence, enlightneth the ſpirits, regulateth deſires, rightly diſpoſeth affection towards duty, ſuffering it ſelfe neither to be corrupted by profit,

nor made flexible by favours, nor vanquished by feare, nor altered or allured by time, to violate right and justice. It is inseparable with the love of publick good, which is the highest, and most orient pearle in the crown of Politick Iustice.

Chap. 17.

Of love to publick good, being the last duty of Politick Iustice towards the publick.

Arist. lib. 5. Ethic cap. 1.

IVstice taken in its proper signification, is the only one among all the other vertues, reflecting upon the good of others; nay, it selfe is the good of others, saith the Philosopher in his Ethicks. For all the profit of a just act casteth it selfe out of him who doth it, upon him for whom it is effected: As it is said of the Sunnes heat issuing as by starts, and reflexion out of its sphere. The Sunne casteth his beames upon all things, not retayning them for himselfe; so the profit proceeding from

juſtice, doth wholly diffuſe it ſelfe upon others, the merit of it only remayning to it ſelfe. And to this vertue doth that golden word belong, which *Seneca* ſpake of vertue in generall: *Her reward is, that ſhe cannot be allured by reward.* She propoſeth to her ſelfe the ſole intereſt of others, not only without regard of her particular profit, but at the coſt of her proper intereſt, caſting them at her feet in diſcharge of her duty, and rather than to violate right and reaſon, ſhee is ready to renounce all dignities, as *Phocion* did his country, and as did *Ariſtides*; or life it ſelfe, as *Regulus*. Nay, if it ſo happen, (as it ſometimes may) that ſhee muſt either renounce her renown, or wrong her conſcience; in this extremity the Magiſtrate purſuing juſtice, is rather to chuſe to bee good, and appeare wicked, than to bee really bad, and ſeeme good in the ſight of men; ſince in his ſolicitude for their ſafety hee will not feare their cenſures: for the people often judge raſhly of the actions and counſels of ſuperiours; and in this caſe juſtice requireth not the opinion of men, but their profit, and

Seneca. Ep. Virtutis pretium eſt, non poſſe pretio capi.

slighting what is sayd, searcheth what should be. We must remayne stiffe (saith *Seneca*) in the execution of a just and honest counsell, even against all opprobries and infamies. No man seemes more to esteeme vertue, than hee who not to lose the conscience of an honest man, doth not at all feare (when occasion is offered) to lose renown. But justice framing man in such fashion, as for the good of others he neglects himselfe, it becomes a vertue proper to those who have the managing of other mens affaires, and among all, (saith the Philosopher) to those who are encharged with the publick good, either of the Prince or State. It is the essentiall and inseparable quality, constituting the nature of their office, and without which they leave to be what their titles import, and are as men in picture, being nothing lesse than men, though they retayne the name and forme.

Sen. Ep. 81.

Arist. lib. 5. Ethic. cap. 1. Virtus sola ex omnibus virtutibus, alienum bonum videtur spectare, qui ad alterum spectat. Agit enim quæ alteri conducunt, aut Principi, aut Reip.

So the Scripture termeth the Pastor who hath no care save for himselfe only, but an Idoll, since he is not what men call him; he is called Pastor by relation to others, and he only

only feedeth himselfe; so as hee is no better than a painted Idoll, having in him nothing lesse than what his name imports, nor is any thing so little as what he appeares to bee. A title likewise belonging to all those (who obliged to the publick) regard nothing save their particular interest; and are (to say truly) none other than Idols, and phantomes, whose appearance dazleth our eyes, and whose name deludeth our eares. And truly, since they are not established over the publick, but with obligation to have care on them; they violating the duty of their dignity, disgrace its glory, and not performing what they promise, they are not really what they stile themselves. They are rightly Idols, since the figure only remayneth; not quick bodies, since the soule is vanished. One may say of them as *David* did of the Idols among the Gentiles: *They have eyes, but see not, eares, but understand not; mouthes, but speak not; feet, but walk not:* for they have eyes, but connive; eares, but counterfeit the deafe, dumb mouthes, and feet fixed to the center of their proper interest, since they walk

walk not toward their obligation. They have hands, but feele not; for they being ordinarily employed in touching, and taking, they loſe both ſight, hearing, ſpeech, and motion. Wherefore the Thebans painted their Iudges and Magiſtrates without hands; ſince when their hands are over long, it is much to bee feared their feet will become gouty, their tongues tied, their eares deafned, and their eyes dimmed. And the Scripture ſaith; *That thoſe who take bribes, do likewiſe retaine injuſtice.* I intend not hereby to prove, that injuſtice deſtroyes authority, being both by divine and humane right inviolable; but only that in ſuch perſons the honour and merit of poſſeſſing places of judicature periſheth: the title remayneth, the merit is miſſing. Iuſtice therefore tending to the good of others, is as it were an eſſentiall quality to publick perſons, obliging them to love, and daily to procure the generall good; which not only lawes and reaſon teach us, but even nature it ſelfe dictates unto us. For is it not apparant in all ſublunary things, that whatſoever is deſtinated for

Pierius in hierogly.l.38

for common good, operateth not for it selfe, but imployeth it selfe for all? Do not the heavens send forth their influences, the Sun his beames, the earth its fœcundity, the trees their fruits, fountaynes their waters, Bees their honey, Silkwormes their subtile webs for all? Doth not the liver distribute blood to all the veynes, the head motion to all the nerves, the heart vigour to all the members? Is there any thing in nature which converteth to its owne use what it hath received for the common good? See wee not in reasonable creatures a desire, in unreasonable ones a motion, in insensible things a kinde of inclination toward the generall good of the Vniverse, whereby their particular good subsisteth? Is it not true, that by naturall instinct the hand casts it selfe before the body, to receive upon it selfe the strokes comming upon it; and how each part is inclinable to preserve the whole, though to its owne ruine? Shall not then knowledge, reason, and justice cause that in man, which a mere naturall inclination effecteth in all other things? But is there any thing either

more glorious, or which draweth the creature neerer to the imitation of God, than to seeke and procure publick good? to go lesse therein, is it not a signe of indigence, and to enlarge our selves, a token of abundance? Who is so abundant as God, and who diffuseth himselfe like him? poverty pincheth, and restraineth; plenty enlargeth, and dilateth. Moreover, whatsoever is most excellent, and principall in all things, doth it not communicate most, and become most abundant? The highest, and most elevated among the Angels, do they not take greatest care, both of the heavens motions, of the worlds government, and of mankinde in generall; those of inferiour orders having the oversight only of some single Kingdome, Province, or City? and the lowest orders, those who have the single conduct of each particular person? Among the starres, the Sunne holding the highest rank, doth hee not bestow his lights, and influences, both upon the celestiall and elementary world? The Moone succeeding in the second place, to the elementary globe only. The starres, as least

leaſt in dignity, to a certain ſpecies, or individuity of ſublunary things? But (I beſeech you) is there any thing ſo noble in the world, as God? in man, as the ſoule? in the body, as the heart? in the tree, as the root? All the tree is nourished by the root, the heart cauſeth life in the whole body, the ſoule guideth the whole man, God governeth the whole world.

To practiſe vertue in our owne particular, is a great matter, but to exerciſe it toward others, is much more glorious; to make uſe of it toward many, is excellent; but to impart it to all, is ſupereminent. *And even as* (ſaith the Philoſopher) *hee who is malicious toward himſelfe, and others, is the worſt and moſt wicked of all men*: So he who practiſeth vertue both toward himſelfe and others, is the beſt and moſt juſt among men. It is the higheſt pitch of vertue, the conſummation of juſtice, the perfection of man, and the degree neereſt approaching to the Divinity.

Ariſt. lib. 5. Polit. cap. 1.

Chap. 18.

The Epilogue of all this Discourse of Iustice, by way of Epiphonema.

BVT *Plato* saith, that if vertue could be viewed living, and animated with her proper attractions, she would cause admiration in mindes, and amorous motions in all hearts. Discourse can only represent her in picture, and Eloquence is not stored sufficiently with lively colours, to inspire thereinto the soule and beauty of a naturall body. So as to behold Iustice (which my weak pencill is forced to expresse) in her lively and native grace, it is necessary to cast our eyes upon some living modell; (if the world yet affords any such) expressing in it selfe the beautifull idæa of this eldest daughter of God, which the pen is unable to depaint. O more worthy the name of Great than *Alexander*, or *Pompey*! a man given from heaven, and more resembling God than man; he who mouldeth himselfe

himselfe upon this image, and whose soule is the table, his vertue the pencill, his actions the colours, and whose life is the soule of that living image, drawn upon the prototype of this divine pattern: God in this mans heart hath engraven a lively knowledge of this truth, that those whose dignities cause them neereſt to resemble him, ought most neerely to approach unto him by duty and love; and that the degree of piety should equalize that of preferment; that the greatnesse of the benefit received, should bee the modell of acknowledgement. To consider likewise, that the higheſt Angels are most ardent in his love, the promptest to know and accomplish his commandements. And from this Principle (as from a celestiall seed) we see, spring the blessed maximes conformable to eternall verities; Iust counsels, sage advices, the administration of earthly things according to celestiall lawes; briefly, all the fruits worthy of this Christian, and divine Philosophy. Hee then seeth how Iustice being obliged to allow to each man what is his right, that after the service due to

Almighty God, the regulating of our manners being a right due to our ſelves, holdeth the firſt rank in obligation, and ought likewiſe to have the firſt place in diſcharge; hee knoweth how the rule which ought to bee as the modell to all the world, ought chiefly to be very direct in it ſelfe. That the words of Iuſtice are found to be of very flat taſte, if the ſoule ſavour not the fruits. That to govern well, and live wickedly, if it bee not incompatible, is at leaſt diſhoneſt. That ſage counſels do only profit others, but a lewd life endammageth its authour. That there is nothing ſo fooliſh as to follow the Silkworm, who ſpins ſilk for us, and ends her dayes in the action; induſtrious for others, to himſelfe pernicious: hee in concluſion ſees, how after he hath ſet himſelfe in good order, the laſt duty of Politick Iuſtice is, to be carefull of the publick good, and to deſpiſe his proper intereſt.

That it is as much as to make himſelfe pretious, not to be bought or allured by any reward. That there is nothing ſo glorious, as to ſhew himſelfe incorruptible in an age wherein

wherein the glittering of gold tempteth the fidelity of all, and overcometh the constancy of many.

That Integrity then is most laudable, when by reason of corrupted times, covetousnesse seemes to bee excusable. That it is an unworthy thing, to make the earths excrements mens Idols; and that those base metals Nature buries in her lowest bottoms, should usurp the principall place in the affections of a reasonable soule. That it is a shame and reproach to Christians, to see very Pagans shew greater integrity, and more incorruption, and affection to the publick good in the administration of Offices, than we do. That the ancient Romans (as *Valerius* the great, witnesseth) namely those of the Ælian family, rather chose to bee poore in a plentifull Republick, than rich in a poore one. And that now, even those who professe the knowledge of the true God, blush not at all when they impoverish whole Cities, and Kingdomes, to enrich their private families with publick spoyles.

Out of these considerations ariseth and springeth

ſpringeth this excellent reſolution, of deſpiſing our particular, out of zeale to the publick, and to ſhew our ſelves liberall of riches, covetous of vertue, and ſurmounting gold (the conqnerour of all things) to make it appeare we are invincible. From thence ariſe all thoſe wholſome counſels which the generous liberty of a ſoule free from covetouſneſſe produce; together with all thoſe famous acts of loyalty toward our Prince, of moderation in power, in ſupport of innocency, of reſiſtance againſt injury, of incorruption againſt all ſorts of tentations, of the peace of Cities, the repoſe of Provinces, augmentation of Empires, wholſome lawes, juſt governments, and all thoſe faire deſignes which Princes conceive in the inclinations and motions of thoſe generous perſons, which after God, and themſelves, are the principall motions of their ſoules, and our ſafety. For even as thoſe ſtarrs meeting in conjunction with the Sunne, do much availe toward the cauſing his influences to become good and favourable unto us; as the Pleiades, which cauſe the light to appeare

peare pleaſing and gratious unto us at the Springs return, whereas the Canicular ſtarres make it ſcorching in Summer: So thoſe who by their juſt and good counſels, move the will and authority of good and juſt Princes; concurre with them, and are the organs and inſtruments of a fortunate age.

Symm. Bonis & iuſtis Principibus, bona & decora ſuadentes inſtrumenta ſunt boni ſeculi.

O happy ages, who enjoy ſuch miracles and alike treaſures; miracles (in truth) for the rarity; treaſures for their neceſſity. O fortunate *France*, who amid all thy miſeries haſt never wanted thoſe brave *Catoes* and *Phocions*, who have a thouſand times ſaved thee from ſhipwrack, at what time danger cauſing the ambitious to ſhrink, and feare the timorous to retire; zeale hath beſtowed on thee the good, courage the valiant, and God the neceſſary. O great ſoules, who conceive theſe generous deſignes, not to breath but for the publick, and to baniſh their particular: you quit a ſlight profit, and carry away the Laurell of an incomparable honour: what you trample upon, is but a little earth, and in exchange; the approba-

tion of Kings, the ſuffrages of Provinces, the acclamation of people, the eulogies of Hiſtory, the benediction of men, the glory of God; here on earth commendations, and on high immortall Crownes are your rewards.

The end of the ſecond Book.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK.

Of Vertues and Qualities which give vigour and grace to execute.

Chap. 1.

The propoſition, and diviſion of matters diſcuſed in this laſt Book.

TO know good, and to will it, to know it, and to ſeek it, to ſee it, and tend toward it, all this is not the attaynment thereof: Power is neceſſary for the compaſſing what we aſpire unto: For what benefit were it for brute beaſts to have ſenſe,

to apprehend, and an appetite to incline towards things fitting for them, if notwithstanding they wanted both feet and wings to convey them whither their appetite inclineth them for the obtayning what their sense apprehendeth. The Art and will of sayling, plowing, painting, building, what use would they afford to the Pilot, Plowman, Painter, or Architect, if the last wanted his trowell to set hands to work, the next his pencill for the expression of his idæas, the third his plough to stirre the earth, the fourth his rudder and sayles to part the waves? Knowledge is unprofitable where power fayleth, and vaine the desire which cannot arrive to its ayme. The wisdome of God knoweth all things, and his bounty is boundlesse; but had he not equall power to bring to light both what he knoweth and willeth, his bounty would remayn fruitlesse, and his wisdome workelesse: the one could not appeare, the other not communicate it selfe, nor should wee know either how much the one knoweth, or how greatly the other loveth us? It is (therefore) not enough

enough to have treated of, and handled (in the two former Bookes) the vertues instructing the understanding in the knowledge of good, and those in particular disposing the will to love and search the known good, if wee do not farther adde those qualities requisite to enable us for the production, and putting them in practise, to the end to arm politick vertue with all her necessary peeces. First then, wisdome and prudence afford capacity and sufficiency; Iustice, honesty, and their associats, inspire a good affection, and right intention. It remaineth that I shew those parts, adding thereto force and efficacy. But even those vertues serving for knowing and willing good, do also concurre to the enablement and action. For every vertue is a habitude and perfection added to the powers of the reasonable soule, to afford it the dexterity, the vigour, the ease, and facility to operate, and act agreeably to the rules of reason: Whereupon the Philosophers generally call Vertue, an operative habitude, since every vertue tends to action: and (as *Aristotle* saith) *Vertue is no other, than*

Arist. lib. 2. Eth. cap. 6. Virtus est quæ bonum facit habentem, & opus ejus reddit bonum.

Virtus est qualitas qua rectè vivitur. Aug. l.2. de lib. arb. c. 18. & 19. Virtus est bonus usus liberi arbitrii. ibid.

a quality making him good who possesseth it, and his operation laudable. So as Saint *Augustine* was in the right when in generall hee names Vertue, *A quality for the well ordering the actions of this life:* and more briefly; *The good, and right use of freewill.* So in that every vertue reflecteth upon the action as its aym and fruit, those vertues shewing light, whereby to know good, and inclining us to love it, do likewise afford us the ability to produce it. The same vigour of the root, of which the tree makes use towards the conception and form of the fruit, is likewise serviceable thereto for the production and perfection thereof. And the same wind causing a ship to lanch forth and sayle, doth likewise drive it into the haven. The like agility animating the runner of the Olympick games to appeare in the lists, doth also cause him to perform his race, to touch the goal, and gain the prize, and that which begins to give him motion to his course, doth consequently afford him both progresse and victory. Wisdome and Prudence are not only (even before the action) usefull for the under-

understanding of what is fit to bee done, and of the meanes we are therein to use, but they further guide the course of the action; and the one serving as a sane, the other conducting and prescribing the measure, accompany and carry it to the desired end. In like manner, justice, honesty, and all vertues thereon depending; besides, that they dispose and incline the soule to honest and laudable actions, they are likewise very usefull in the exercise of the very actions themselves; not only causing man to be willing, but to be able also to do good; yet do I find notwithstanding certaine qualities and vertues properly destinated for the disclosing and producing of what prudence hath conceived, and justice designed as honest, and profitable. Vertues and qualities, without which justice hath (often) only good wishes without fruit, and prudence sage counsels without successe. Now these qualities are chiefly required in publick persons, encountring in their most pious enterprizes a thousand obstacles through which they are to break; lets which they are to rebate,

difficulties

difficulties which they are to overcome, and this not being feaseable for them without necessary armes; their honesty remayneth useless, and their wisdome fruitless, if they be thereof unprovided. I reduce these qualities to foure heads; Authority, Good Fortune, Courage, and Eloquence. Authority causeth sage and just counsels to bee received; Good Fortune makes them succesfull; Courage addes credit therto; and Eloquence perswades the performance: and in truth, without Eloquence they often appeare bitter, without Courage weak, without Good Fortune fruitless, and nullified without Authority. So as Authority causeth them to overcome all obstacles, Good Fortune all difficulties, Courage all resistances, and Eloquence all humane aversions, and passions. Yet will I not say, either that Eloquence is a vertue, or that Authority, or Good Fortune are inherent qualities and fastned to man as habitudes. Courage, arising out of Fortitude and Magnanimity, justly holdeth one of the first ranks among politick vertues, as I will shew in the sequell of

of this Discourse. But Authority, and Good fortune, are but exteriour guifts of God, being not in us, but by his onely favour, when at any time he authorizeth us among men, causing our good counsels happily to succeed both for his glory and the generall good. And as for Eloquence, it is no vertue but an Instrument causing vertues to be of validitie, and an ornament decking and beautifying them. Now (to place these foure qualities in their proper rankes, and offices,) know; that authority conferreth credit; Good fortune, successefulnesse; Fortitude, resolution, and constancie: Eloquence, perswasion, gracefulnesse, and as it were Beautie: And all these foure united, give perfection to Politicke Vertue, and a Period to my intended Worke.

Chap. II.

Of Authoritie.

THe Authoritie, whereof I speake in this place, is not the dignity nor power which the charge conferreth but a reputation, or (if you please) a weight and price, which generall opinion and esteeme (with a joynt consent) affords to the vertue, counsell, deeds, and words of certaine persons, elevated to high offices; which all looke upon as Gods on earth, or as men sent by God for the publike benefit and safety of all. For there are divers advanced to dignities, who, though adorned with vertue, and endued with judgment, and science, yet being unfurnished of this Authoritie which opinion affordeth to some particulars, they misse the principall instrument setting a value upon men among men; though their counsels be never so good, and well grounded, yea even where sufficiencie equally shineth

neth with integritie; yet so it is, they are not so much as listned unto. What in some other mans mouth would carry weight with it, looseth its estimate in theirs, and their Prudence is like the Gold and Pearles in some Countryes where the Inhabitants eyther regard them not, or slight them, as not knowing their worth. Who knowes not that Cockles marked with the publicke stampe, are the currant coyne in certaine newly discovered Countries, namely in *Congo*. For, it is not the scarcitie of gold and silver, which reduceth them to this extremitie, but either the ignorance, contempt, or a contrary custome. Gold and silver abound there, but these people yeeld the precedence to base Cockle-shels, if not in price, at least in imployment: The former loosing in these mens opinions, the ranke and dignity, Nature allowes them. Gold was not in use in the Citie of *Sparta*, by *Lycurgus* his Lawes, but Iron onely, which bearing the publike stamp, was able, and did all things in matter of commerce; whilest gold (though more rich and precious) lay unpro-

fitably moulding in some obscure retreat. The like estimate the publick stamp gives to coynes, generall opinion, but chiefly that of the Prince, (whence authority hath its reflection) bestoweth upon men. Without this stamp, gold is not valuable to iron: with this Marke, iron passeth for gold. It is not so much the worth, as the esteeme, which setteth a value upon all things in the Commerce of this world. It is the like of wisdome and vertue, as of the precious stone called *Phengite*: which though right beautifull, and of excellent luster, yet remaineth it dull and darke, if the Sunne shine not thereon: so the most excellent qualities languish and wither, as unknowne and despised, if the light of publike esteeme, doth not thereto adde both luster, and authority. For we are to acknowledge the powerfull Empire, which opinion hath eyther acquired, or usurped over humane spirits, an Empire of such extent, as she takes notice of all things, and so absolute, as there is no farther any appeale from the Decrees she pronounceth. And though an ancient Sage layd: that truth

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receits, cureth more ſick folks, than the medicines and receits themſelves; yea, this perſwaſion hath ſometimes been ſo powerfull, as the only ſight of the Phyſitian hath cured the Patient. It is ſayd, that the Tortois conceiveth merely in ſeeing, by the force of imagination; and Phyſitians hold, that children carry the characters imprinted on them, of thoſe objects their mothers have fixedly beheld or apprehended upon their conception: as that woman whoſe eye & attention being ſeriouſly bent upon the figure of a Moore, conceived and brought forth an Æthiopian. And *Iacobs* ewes who conceived ſpotted lambs, and coloured as the twigs were which the ſhepherds layd in their ſight along the channell where they went to watering. The field need to bee large, ſhould I follow all thoſe effects of the imagination, cauſing ſuch miracles in the world, as to make men ſick by force of apprehenſion, and againe to cure them by the ſame meanes, drawing their remedies whence their maladies aroſe: yea, to cauſe horns to bud in the forehead of *Cyppus* King of *Italy*, by ſuffering the ſight

of

of Bulbaiting to take over deep root in his phantaſie, where he was a ſpectator; to produce monſters, to ſurpaſſe common courſes, and to ſport with the order of things, cauſing men ſome halfe dogs, others halfe fiſhes, and others halfe horſes, to come to light. Infants of the imagination, prodigies and amazements in Nature. But no farther to enlarge my ſelfe in the recitall of theſe curioſities, I alleadge this, only to ſhew how the like force imagination hath in naturall things, opinion hath in morall, and civill occurrences. For is it not a wonder to ſee ſometimes a mutinous multitude, grumbling, and foaming with fury, like the waves of a rough ſea, overturning and maſſacring all they meet in oppoſition, with fire, ſword, ſtaves, ſtones, and other weapons which rage lights on, taking, and haling away all by their violence, as do the billowes of an overflowing torrent; to ſtay at an inſtant upon the firſt ſight of a grave, and reverenced perſon, ſuch a one as the Poet deſcribeth.

Who

Tum meritis ſi forte grauem, &c.

Who once appearing, ſuddenly doth ſtay
Their boldneſſe, and their fury doth allay,
Impoſing ſilence: And his mouth, whence drops
A ſweet diſtilling honey, calmes and ſtops
Thoſe raging waves, and mad attempts begũ
By giddy choller, by ſad temper woon.

It is no marvell, that as the ſwelling rage of the Sea, threatning to ſwallow the whole earth, breaks it ſelfe upon ſome ſandie ſhore; ſo this tempeſt of a mutinous people, appeaſeth it ſelfe, at the approach of a diſarmed perſon, and that opinion ſtayes, what force, Iron, and armes were unable to ſtop. The eſteeme and opinion conceived of this mans vertue, diſſipateth all this ſtorme: as it is ſayd, how the waft of an hat diverteth thunderbolts and Canon-ſhot. But is it not yet a more remarkable example of the efficacie of opinion, to ſee a whole armie already routed, to reſume courage at the very ſight, or voyce of ſome renowned Cheefetaine, as though one ſingle man inſpired ſtrength into all, or as though all fighting in one, all by

by one, or one by all, ſhould obtaine the victory. It is neyther the ſtrength, nor courage of the Captaine which cauſeth this wonder, for what could one mans ſtrength adde to a compleat armie, were he an *Hercules*, an *Alexander*, or a *Cæſar*? It is then the Opinion (onely) they have conceived of his valor and conduct. Opinion inſpiring courage in the greateſt Cowards, force in the moſt feeble, ardor in the cooleſt: and doth with more ſpiritfull promptneſſe than the ſound of Trumpets, or the influence of the Starre of *Mars*, animate all men to fight. In like manner the Pilots experience redoubles the Saylors courage amidſt the affrights of moſt terrible tempeſts. The maſters preſence ſitting cheerfully at the poope, affords them more hope, than heretofore St. *Elme*, ſhining in the Bole of the Maſt. The ſight of him is their Sea-marke and Pole-ſtarre, he warmes their hearts, and redoubleth their ſtrength to ſtrive againſt the ſtorming Billowes. And the credit, their Maſters authority hath acquired, ſaves more ſhips, than eyther Art, or dexteritie. The like hapneth in

a Counſell and Aſſembly, where the Authority of ſome one man in ſpeciall credit and reputation, effecteth more, eyther toward the paſſing of a good and ſound advice, or the rejection of an unjuſt propoſition, then his reaſons, his diſcourſe, or Wiſdome. When he had yet ſcarce ſpoken, his authority begins to encline them to what he would ſay, fearing leſt they ſhould not ſoone enough conforme themſelves to his advice; his authoritie keeping them under command, and his very ſilence in ſuſpence; and no ſooner doth he begin to ſpeake, but each man hath his eye fixed on his face, and his eare to his voyce: he imprinteth what he ſpeaketh, and perſwadeth what he pleaſeth: & the weight of his name, more then his words, cauſeth their judgments to incline to that ſide wherto this ballance draweth them: ſo as ordinarily all others ſuffer themſelves to bee attracted to him as the Iron to the Adamant, without being preſſed by any more powerfull force than that of his onely preſence; ſo great power hath Authoritie and Opinion over our ſpirits. The examples of this Veri-

Veritie are very frequent in Hiſtories, where we ſhall often obſerve how the preſence of one famous perſon by his onely Authority hath quaſhed civill Commotions, inſpired the Soule in Aſſemblies, led the dance, and motion to Hearts, Tongues, and Hands, and turned the Wils of all men whether hee enclined. The Authoritie of *Phocion* at *Athens*, of *Cato* at *Rome*, hath often wrought the like wonders; when any queſtion aroſe eyther of cauſing a good counſell to paſſe current, to reject reproveable ones, to eſtabliſh juſtice or repell violence. And this Authoritie is one the moſt powerfull armes of Politicke vertue for the execution of Heroicall enterprizes.

Chap. 3.

Whence this Authoritie is derived.

ALl good proceedeth from God (Sourſe, and Fountaine of all Goodneſſe) and particularly the Authoritie whereof wee now

treat, floweth from this fountain. It ſeeming that God himſelfe with his all-powerfull finger hath engraven a certain touch of extraordinary Majeſty upon their foreheads whom he intendeth to authorize, and make uſefull for humane ſociety. It is ſayd, how that divers families in *Rome* had certain hereditary marks, as of a fitch, a dryed peaſe, or an iron-mole, appearing upon the forehead, or face of their children, cauſing their name and origen to be immediatly known, even to thoſe who were not acquainted with their perſons. So God ſeemeth in all States and Kingdomes to make choice of certain families and races, as inſtruments of his Providence, in the conduct and advancement of publick good, in ſo much as all their deſcendants beare a certain character, and ſhew a kinde of gracefulneſſe cauſing all men to acknowledge them, authorizing them without further triall of their ſufficiency, than this only honour following them as an hereditary title. And to prove that God maketh election of ſome families, which he marketh, (as with his ſignet) conferring

ferring authority together with the name, though experience doth ſufficiently declare the truth thereof, the ſacred Scripture doth yet farther furniſh us with faire precedents, and remarkable examples: For we read of the race of the *Machabees*, having been cho- *L.pr.Ma.c.5*
ſen and inſpired by God to releeve *Iudæa* from the oppreſſion of tyrants and uſurpers; now this election falling out ſucceſsfully, and to their honour by divers notable victories, and famous triumphs, *Ioſeph* and *Azarias* pricked with an envious emulation, conceived a deſigne to gain reputation, in emulation of the *Machabees*. They furniſhed themſelves, they rayſed an army, they put themſelves into action, they aſſayled the enemy, but to their ſhame, which preſently followed their diſtout, and flight. Since (as ſayth the ſacred Text) *They were not of the race of them from whom the ſafety of* Iſrael *ought to come.* A remarkable word, whereby God declareth unto us the election, which his providence maketh of certain families, whereof he intendeth to make uſe, as of his inſtruments, in what hee deſigneth for the

Ipſi non erant de ſemine illorũ per quos ſalus facta eſt in Iſrael.

common ſafety of Empires. So among all the families in the world he (heretofore) made choice of that of *Abraham*, therein to conſerve the worſhip of his name, and the hope of the ſalvation of all mankinde. He (after) elected the family of *Levi*, for the Prieſthood; the family of *Iudah*, for the Crown; and the family of the *Machabees* (as I have formerly ſayd) to revenge the reproach offered againſt *Iſrael*. *Athens* and *Rome* have likewiſe had certaine names and races fatall for their glory, and who might well be termed the pillers and baſes of their greatneſſe. And our hiſtory conſerveth the memory of divers illuſtrious families, which ſeem to have been deſtinated by heaven, to defend the beauty of our Flower de Luces from the injury of times, and to maintayn amidſt the frownes and ſtorms of fortune, the majeſty of our Kings, and the glory of their Crownes. Their names are ſo well known, that ſhould I place them upon this paper (it not being of neceſſity) I might be ſuſpected of flattery. But I ſay, that the deſcendants of ſuch families, carry even from their

their mothers womb, not as our old Romans, the mark of a burning ſword imprinted on their thigh, but the authority of an hereditary reputation engraven on their names, preparing and leveling them the way to brave and illuſtrious actions. Which cauſeth mee to ſay, this authority is a gift from God, ſince the lot of our birth is not at our election to make choice of the place of his origin. Every one (as *Seneca* ſayd right elegantly) would uſurp the birth-right of ſome rich and renowned family. But even when we are not, God (who beſtowes our being upon us) chuſeth for us, and appointeth both the time and place. Nor is this authority whereof we treat, in this regard only, a gift from heaven; but likewiſe in that God beſtoweth on ſome, certaine naturall graces, authorizing and making them thereby pleaſing both to King and people. So God authorized *Ioſeph* in *Ægypt*, in the eye of *Pharaoh*; *Daniel* in *Babylon*, in the ſight of *Nabuchodonoſor*; *Mordochay* in *Aſſyria*, in the opinion of *Aſſuerus*; *Eſdras* in *Perſia*, in the good grace of *Artaxerxes*; and divers others

others upon ſeveral occaſions, who making uſe of this authority, not for their particular emolument, but for publick employment, have appeared as ſacred anchors in ſtrongeſt tempeſts, to deliver Gods people from imminent ſhipwrack. And here may enter all thoſe gifts called gifts of nature, and fortune, and thoſe likewiſe called Theologicall; to wit, gifts of grace beſtowed gratis, depending not on us, nor our merit, but on the pure diſpoſition and liberality of God. For as the Poet *Lucretius* ſayd; That the light of the Sunne is not compoſed of one continued peece, but reflecteth upon us by the concurrence of many and divers beames, which he darteth upon us ſo thick each after other, as we are unable to perceive the intervals or ſpaces between. So Authority being the light of vertue, riſeth and ſhineth by the happy encounter of divers excellent parts. Firſt, the nobility and antiquity of blood, greatly authorizeth a mans vertue, (as we have already ſhewed:) and though ſome would ſay as *Vlyſſes* anſwered to *Ajax*; that the famous acts of our forefathers are not

Lucret. Largus enim liquidi fons luminis aetherius Sol irrigat aſſiduecœlum candore recenti. Suppeditaque novo confeſtim lumine lumen.

not ours, but theirs: yet in truth they are ours by a double meanes; ours by title of ſucceſſion, giving us right not only to the poſſeſſions, but to the honours alſo of our Anceſtors: and yet more ours by right of imitation, when we tread in the ſteps of their vertuous examples. And though ſome others have affirmed that nobility of race being an externall good, addeth nothing to humane poſterity; yet, to take it even in the moſt rigorous ſenſe, this externall good joyned to internall endowments, is a ſurpluſage of good, ſo farre forth as hee who hath not this benefit, is deficient in a neceſſary good; and whoſo hath this prerogative above others, though otherwiſe all things be equall, yet hath he ſtill advantage over him. And beſides, wee do not conſider man metaphyſically alone, abſtracted and divided from other men, but reflect upon him as in civill community and ſociety, where doubtleſſe the ſplendor and nobility of race, doth readily confer that eſtimation and credence upon him, which a new commer, how wiſe, and vertuous ſoever he be, ſhall not acquire

till hee have given divers good teſtimonies of his actions. Wherefore *Saluſt* obſerveth, that the ancient Romans were of opinion, that it was a ſtayn and blemiſh to the Conſulary honour, if they ſhould confer it upon a new commer, though adorned with vertue, and merit: yet when all is ſayd, we muſt avow that nobility without vertue, is but diſgracefull, as on the other ſide, vertue without nobility remayneth low priced; but nobility adorned with vertue, and vertue embelliſhed by nobility, rayſeth a man to the higheſt rank of honour: and hee in whom theſe two concurre, hath the glory a man can attayn unto, ſince he hath the hereditary joyned to the acquired right. In a ſecond place, riches adde much to authority, when they come either by juſt ſucceſſion, or by lawfull and honeſt acquiſition. Now it is the like of riches, as of waters which cannot be clear and wholſome, if their ſource be impure: for if wee ſee a family abounding in temporall ſubſtance, men preſently diſpute how it was rayſed; as the Geographers do of the river *Nilus*. Dogs are ordinarily ſuſpected

pected by reaſon of their dangerous teeth, the Wolfe for his wide throat, the Lion for his pawes, the Eagle for his tallents, the Fox for his craſty tricks, and all beaſts of prey for their fraud and violence. And though *Cacus* forced the ſtoln cattell hee conveyed to his Cave, to be drawn thither backward, yet ſo it is, that the ſimpleſt perſons could go directly thither to diſcover what they ſuppoſed to bee there concealed. But when riches are lawfully acquired, they contribute much credit to vertue, beſides the ſervice they afford thereto in the execution of her juſt and generous deſignes. Whereupon the Philoſopher deſired the goods of fortune, as neceſſary parcels toward the intire accompliſhment of mans beatitude. And even Saint *Thomas* (the maſter of Theology) receiveth this propoſition, as for what concerneth the imperfect beatitude of this life, wherein man hath not only a ſoule contenting it ſelfe with interiour bleſſings, but a body likewiſe needing externall benefits; but in the life to come wee being then quit of this fraile fleſh, God alone ſhall be our abſolute good,

Ariſt. lib. 2. Eth. cap. 8.

D. Thomas 12. qu. 4. artic. 7.

and our perfect felicity, though after the resurrection the body being again reunited to the glorious and immortall soule, corporall benefits againe concurre, though not as essentiall and necessary, yet at least as adjuncts, and well befitting the perfection of our beatitude. So as you see on all sides how externall substance addeth something to humane felicity, yet not to cause us to bee of the *Peripatetians* opinion, who in conformity to their *Aristotle*, supposed a man could not be happy in this life, without the affluence of externall things, since to the contrary, Christian discipline preferreth the indigence of things before abundance, and the despisement thereof before the possession; but wee only say, that a well ordered reason making use of temporall blessings to Gods glory, they become a great and powerfull instrument in the exercise of vertues, in the well using whereof consists our present felicity. Riches are of themselves things of indifferency, the well bestowing them makes them good, and the abuse thereof causeth them to become naught, and as they serve

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for ſubject of vice in the hands of wicked perſons, ſo afford they weapons to good mens vertues; and chiefly to the vertue appearing in publick, and which (rightly to ſhew it ſelfe upon this worlds Theater) hath uſe of exteriour aſſiſtances. Without which vertue becomes weak and languiſhing, and though not without merit in Gods ſight, yet at leaſt without action, fruit, and glory before men. For as the faults which are only in the will, are no way prejudiciall to civill ſociety, and conſequently deſerve no puniſhment by humane juſtice, according to the Civilians rules (ſave only in caſe of high treaſon) where all is puniſhable, both the deſire, the effect, the heart, the hand. So the good which is only in intention, brings no commodity to the publick, nor doth it from thence merit either glory or recompence. But vertue wanting the inſtrument of riches to bring to light her fayre deſignes, is conſtrained to ſmother thouſands of good intentions, as being unable to diſcloſe them; and as much as poverty bereaveth him of divers occaſions to appeare, and profit in

Voluntatis pœnam nemo patitur.

publick, so much glory, credit, and authority, doth it cause him to lose: So as his generous inclination elevating him on the one side, and his disability dejecting him on the other, it hapneth to him as to the party in the Emblem, whom the weight clogged as much as the wing elevated. Moreover, the things of this world are so disposed, and the judgements and affections of men have taken such a propension, that all yeeld unto, and obey riches; as the Wiseman in the Scripture affirmeth. *Gold* (saith the Philosopher) *serves as a surety or safe pledge to obtain what we seek for*: whence it hapneth, that being able to do all, and effecting every thing in humane occurrents, it acquireth great credit to the possessors, and bereaveth those of as much who enjoy it not.

Alciat. Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus.

Pecunia obedinnt omnia. Prov.c.10.

Nummus est quasi fide jussor habendi pro eo quodcunque homo voluerit. Aristt. lib. 5. Polit.c.6.

Chap.

Chap. 4.

The ſequence of the ſame Diſcourſe.

Moreover, offices, honours, and dignities do greatly contribute toward the acquiſition of Authority, and chiefly when they are the recompence of merit, and not the preys of ambition, or hire of vice. For when any illegall or diſhoneſt way hath ſerved as a plank or ladder to riſe to honours, in this caſe a man cannot exerciſe his office with requiſite reſolution and liberty, but ſhall infallibly encounter divers oppoſitions founded upon taxations, tainting publick credit. But he whoſe vertue hath ſerved as a ſtep to rayſe him to dignity, goes on with a reſolute heart; bearing his head aloft; his conſtancy rayſeth his courage, and in whatſoever juſt or honeſt thing he undertaketh, honour marcheth before him, freedome accompanies him, and authority attends him. Dignities are the theaters of vertue, there it

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is where ſhee appeareth, producing her fayre actions to the view of all men. Offices authorize men, provided thoſe men honour their places, and that one may juſtly report of them as was ſayd of *Epaminondas* the Thebane. That they in ſuch ſoft behaved themſelves in their places of honour, as they rather ſeemed to adde ornament to their offices, than to receive any from thence. And truly, as the Sunnes light communicating its beames indifferently to all things, doth not yet illuminate any but tranſparant bodies, diſpoſed to receive the impreſſions of his brightneſſe, as chryſtall and glaſſe. So dignities in an ambitious and corrupted age, may fall into whoſe hands ſo ever; but the ſplendour of that honour, and authority they afford, ſhal never illuſtrate any but ſuch whoſe vertues are able reſpectively to honour and authorize them. Offices are as caſting counters, of high price in the hands of rich Merchants, when they caſt up their great accompts, but little or nothing worth in a poore mans poſſeſſion, who hath no ſummes to reckon; nevertheleſſe, if dignity without

Honores ita geſſit, ut ornamentum non accipere, ſed dare ipſi dignitati videretur. Iuſtinus lib. 6.

without ſufficiency hath no great reputation; ſufficiency without dignity cannot authorize it ſelfe among men, but remayneth unknown, unprofitable, and idle in the obſcurity of retiredneſſe; as mynes of gold undiſcovered in the bowels of the earth; ſo as many times tynne and copper are uſed in the courſe of traffick, whilſt they ſuppoſing they want gold, ſuffer it to remayn ruſting. It avayleth much for the common good, to employ that to publick uſe which may bring a generall profit. That the Sunne be placed in the firmament, the taper in a candleſtick, and vertue in the throne of honours, ſince being rayſed and authorized, it is uſefull to all men; but deſpiſed and neglected, it receiveth injury whereby all are endamaged.

Now among all the benefits of fortune authorizing vertue, favour and credit with the Prince, holdeth the higheſt rank, when it is employed not for particular, but for generall good. For as an ancient Poet ſayd; *It is not the leaſt of commendations, to bee pleaſing to great Kings and Princes:* nor is it a

Principibus placuiſſe viris non ultima laus eſt.

ſmall conqueſt to gaine their hearts, who poſſeſſe the herats of all men, it is as much as by winning one heart, to conquer all. *What can be more eminent or illuſtrious*, ſayd that ancient Chancellour of *Thierry*, King of the Gothes, *than to have merited the commendations and approbation of thoſe whoſe greatneſſe takes away all ſuſpicion of flattery: for the eſteeme Kings make of any proceedeth meerly out of the opinion they have of their lives and actions*; *and a ſpirit guarded with the authority of ſoveraign command, will never vouchſafe to applaud any by adulation.* So as there is not any thing which doth more authorize a man, than the Princes approbation, whoſe eſteem and judgement affordeth reputation and paſſage to men, as their ſtamp doth to coynes. After the benefits of fortune, follow the gifts of nature, of body and minde, being right ſerviceable for conferring credit and authority upon men. For only corporall beauty and majeſty is ſo powerfull in captivating hearts, and imprinting in mens ſpirits, I know not what kinde of reverence, as it hath ſeemed in former ages

Caſſiod. ep. 3. lib. 1. Car. Quid majus quæritur, quã hic inveniſſe laudum teſtimonia ubi gratificatio non poteſt eſſe ſuſpecta: Regnantis quippe ſententia judicium de ſolis actibus ſummis; nec blandiri dignantur animus dominii poteſtate munitus.

ages worthy of Crownes and Empires. And God being pleaſed to beſtow a King upon the people of *Iſrael*, made choice of *Saul*, whoſe comely ſtature, and majeſticall port, ſeemed to gaine him the preheminence of that dignity above all others, as well as that of his body: *He appeared* (ſayth the ſacred Text) *higher than all the people, by the head and ſhoulders*: As this other of whom the Poet ſpeaketh; *He appeared above all, by the whole ſhoulders.* Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, who to give us example of the worlds contempt, trampled upon, and rejected honours, riches, and all advantages of fortune, did not yet deſpiſe this gift of nature, but would ſurpaſſe all the ſonnes of men in gracefulneſſe and beauty of body, whereby his port repleniſhed with a moſt venerable majeſty, acquired him a ſweet but ſoveraign authority over hearts. And Saint *Baſil* maketh an excellent obſervation; that God having given man the command and power over woman, would (in recompence) advantage woman above man in corporall beauty, to the end the ſame authority which man

Ab humero & ſurſum eminebat ſuper omnem populum. Reg. l. 1. c. 8.

Speciosus forma præ filiis hominum. Pſal.

Baſ. de virginitate.

had over woman by prerogative of dignity, woman ſhould get the like above man by her gracefull attractions. To be ſhort, there is not any more ſtrong charm to gayne hearts, and poſſeſſe wils, than corporall beauty and majeſty, eſtabliſhing an inſenſible empire over all beholders without need either of lawes or guards.

So as if the baits and attractions of the minde meet with thoſe of the body, it is ſufficient to make a man lord of all hearts, and abſolute king over all affections, ſince by his exteriour graces hee gaineth the vulgars opinion; and by his interiour, the judgement and eſtimation of the wiſe and prudent; ſo as captivating ſome by the body, and others by the ſpirit, he maketh himſelfe maſter of all. Now among the gifts of the ſpirit, ſtrength and ſolidity of judgement is preferable to all others, and it is that chiefly which cauſeth a man to be reverenced, and doth moſt authorize him. For whatſoever in this world is moſt powerfull, is at length forced to yeeld to the ſtrength of reaſon: he then doubtleſſe, who hath the efficacy to

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cauſe the reaſon of his counſels moſt perſpicuouſly to appeare in his words and actions, ſhall at all times remayn the ſtrongeſt, and ſoly invincible, what aſſaults ſoever aremade upon him. Riches, credit, dignities, favours, friends, knowledge, and eloquence, may overcome, (for an inſtant) but in the end reaſon will over-rule: and he who hath the abilities to make right uſe of theſe armes, he is furniſhed with inſtruments to ſurmount all things.

To all thoſe gifts of fortune and nature, the gifts of Grace, which Divines call freely given, and which God beſtowes for the common and univerſall good of mankinde, on thoſe whom he intendeth to authorize, and make uſefull for community, adde much weight and efficacy. Such are the gifts of counſels, knowledge, prudence, eloquence, and other heavenly gifts, (which conſidered as gifts of Grace) have in them ſomething of higher and more ſublime conſideration, and produce more powerfull effects than the ſame qualities conſidered (ſimply) as acquired habitudes. And this

one thing doth greatly authorize a man, when there is any one thing observed and acknowledged in him, surpassing the ordinary talents of men, and which testifies some particular grace and favour from God.

Chap. 5.

The sequence of the same Discourse, how wee ought rightly to employ those good parts wherewith we are endowed; thereby to gain Authority.

IT is a common proverb; *That each man is the maker of his owne fortune*: signifying thereby, that God is not pleased to work all, but that man ought also to co-operate on his part toward the raysing of his reputation; whether temporall here on earth, or eternall in heaven. We have spoken of the parts, qualities, and gifts of fortune, nature, and grace, which make a man eminent in this world, and which acquire honour

honour to him among men. But it is not all, to have the heavens liberall to ſome, and largely to impart its favours, if themſelves be not prudent and ſage to manage theſe advantages diſcreetly, and to employ them religiouſly to Gods glory, profitably to publick good, and happily to Gods honour. For as it is ſayd, that Eagles and Serpents have certain pretious ſtones in their heads; and that Griffins in the Northern *Scythia*, keep, in certain caves and vaults, great heaps of gold and ſilver; but becauſe themſelves know not how to make uſe thereof, this treaſure which they poſſeſſe, is of no profit to them. The ſame it is (ſometimes) of men, who endowed with divers commendable qualities, which might make them famous, and recommendable, yet thoſe excellent parts remayning hidden and ſmothered in their cuſtody, they remayn fruitleſſe, and themſelves without fame or credit. Now it is not to bee denied, but that ſome are followed with I know not what kinde of infortunity, choaking all their worthy performances, in whatſoever they deſigne,

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and in all their attempts: On what side soever they turne, it still crosseth them at all points: and no sooner doth any hope of favourable successe begin to appeare amidst their endeavours, but it either forceth it to wither in the blossome, or snatcheth it out of their hands. Now be it that their actions never fall upon a favourable opportunity, or that the disposition of persons, times, places, with other necessary circumstances causing an action happily and gloriously to shew it selfe, still crosse them; it commonly happens unto them, as to flowers withering in their bud, or as to Children who die in their birth, either because they came into the world over-soone, or too late, and in that they missed the moment of birth, which nature requireth: Or be it that God, to whose providēce we ought to refer all things, since all is subject unto him, yea evē those things which to man are casuall, being fore-seene by him) is not pleased to give them authoritie in this world; either reserving them for some greater good, or fore-seeing that the progresse of their fortunes, would in

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conclusion cause his grace to decay in them: or (as Saint *Denis* sayd) God beeing not willing to enervate the force of his grace, by conferring temporall benefits upon them; or else, to the end to punish the offences of the age, and to deprive it of the benefit which the publicke might reape by the government of honest, capable, and usefull Magistrates; in consequence of those threats he hath denounced in Scripture: or for some other respect, (alwayes holy and just, though hidden and concealed) howsoeuer, it is certaine by daily experience, that divers, endowed with laudable and excellent parts, are yet still put backe, and live retired without name, or authority, though it be no fault of theirs, nor any defect in them, of sage and prudent conduct, hindring them from appearing recommendable, and worthy of Imployment. Now, these men ought to rest contented with the testimony of their conscience, being more valuable than all the Scepters and Crownes this world can afford: and which is the onely reward, whereof neither fortune nor humane ingra-

Divina Iustitia emulari optimarum fortitudinem naturalium donationibus. Diouysius.

titude can bereave Vertue. To deſerve honour, and not to have it, is more honourable, then to enjoy it without deſert; and the praiſe was incomparatively greater, when the queſtion was asked why the people of *Rome* erected not Statues for *Cato* in the publicke places of the City, then when they enquired why any were erected for him. The vertue we ſee uncrowned is alwayes moſt eſteemed by thoſe who beſt know how to ſet a true eſtimate on things: whereas (on the other ſide) there is nothing more diſgracefull, than an honour or recompence, the cauſe whereof we enquire. But howſoever it bee true, that misfortune ſtill attendeth ſome mens merits, yet ſo it is notwithſtanding, that as many impute the offences they have falne into to the Divels temptation; So men, often cauſe both fortune, and the time to alter through their owne errors. For ſuppoſing they have commendable qualities, they either are ignorant how to make right uſe of them, or they abſolutely abuſe them, or neglect the right taking hold of occaſions; ſo as eyther the paines in the proſecu-

Plut in Cato.

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tion thereof affrights them, or idleneſſe diſturbes them, or pleaſure perverts & deludes them. If they be Nobles they degenerate, if rich they employ not their wealth honourably; If of high Dignity, they invalidate their charge; If wiſe, they force their knowledge to ſerve their particular contentments, and not the publicke good; If endowed with other laudable qualities, they ſuffer them to remaine unuſefull, as the Dragons of the Gardens of the *Heſperides*, which keepe the golden Apples, and know not how to gather them: No marvell then, though being full ſtored with rare endowments, they ſtill remaine empty of fame and reputation. Some likewiſe conceale their Talents as Ants doe their Egges and graine, to enjoy the tranquility of a private life, which they preferre before all things: Now, of theſe men there is no wonder if they have what they look for, and miſſe what they avoyd: But if they doe this out of a true neglect of the world, and a pure love toward God, they are worthy of admiration, but if onely to avoyde labour, and for their private content, (which moſt

often hapneth) forgetting their obligation on purpose to follow their humour, and preferring their particular pleasure, before the common good, they are not so much as worthy of excuse. It is not therefore sufficient to have happy advantages, and commendable parts, for the acquisition of fame, and authority, toward the opening a way to publicke profit, the principall peece being the true employment of them to good purpose: since of these things (as of gold and riches) the use is more worth than the enjoyment, and the employment better than the possession.

Now to make right use of heavenly gifts, and thereby to establish and authorize our selves: Paines, prudence, and good fortune is to be required: Of paines, to find out occasions, of Prudence to make election thereof; of good fortune to finde, and profitably to employ them. Good fortune being independent on us, ought to bee remitted to Gods providence; Paines, and discretion beeing in our power, are part of our dutie.

And

And principally thoſe who are deſcended from illuſtrious, ancient, and authoriſed families ought to acknowledge, that to maintaine the authoritie of their Anceſtors, they are to ſupport the reputation thereof by vertue; and that if they intend to inherit the glory and fame their fore-fathers have acquired, they ought to ſucceed (by imitation) thoſe brave actions which have made them ſo illuſtrious. Where vertue is not hereditary, glory cannot ſucceed, that fayling, this tendeth toward its ruine, and the flowers fading ſpeedily followeth the rootes decay. Nobility may happily paſſe, together with the bloud, from Fathers to their Children, but the honour never paſſeth but with merit. Deſcent alloweth the one, but imitation (onely) can tranſmit the other: and if the one follow the name, the other attendeth vertue. For it is a Maxim in Philoſophie: that things are conſerved by the ſame means they are acquired, and are loſt by their contraries. As water which gaineth its puritie by motion, conſerveth it by the ſame, and loſeth it by reſt: and Iron receiving its heat

from fire, preſerveth it in fire, and looſeth it, being removed thence. Now it is not the bloud nor the name, but the generous acts, which have acquired credit, and authority to illuſtrious families. Wherefore it is not the ſucceſſion of name, and armes, but the hereditary ſequence of vertuous actions, which can maintaine and conſerve it. So as if Children degenerate from their Anceſtors, and if inſtead of travell, idleneſſe; in place of induſtry, voluptuouſneſſe; and pleaſures, inſtead of continencie, and Iuſtice, diſſolutions and pride ſlip in; the greatneſſe and authoritie of families, doe inſtantly decay; and as *Saluſt* ſayth; *Fortune changeth with manners.* The world affords us daily experience of this truth, wherein we ſee, that vice, and careleſneſſe abaſe the credit of divers families; which induſtry and diligence had raiſed to great honour and power; and the fathers glory, inſtead of ſerving as an ornament to his Children, becommeth a ſhame and ſcandall to his poſterity. For as *Cajus Marius*, reproched the *Roman* Nobility, who ſought to put themſelves into authoritie by the

Imperium his artibus retinetur quibus initio partum eſt. At fortuna ſimul cum moribus immutatur. Saluſt. de cõiur. Cateli.

Saluſt. de bello Iug.

the renowne of their Anceſtors, whoſe ſteps they traced not; *The more illuſtrious and commendable* (ſayd he) *the lives of Predeceſſours are, the more ſhamefull and vituperable are the Childrens vices:* The glory of Anceſtors, ſerveth as a light to their progenie, cauſing all they doe, be it good or bad, to appeare to the publicke view. And this ought to ſerve as an advertiſement to thoſe who are deſcended from famous and renowned fathers: All civill Law and Nature may well allow them their fathers inheritance: but how only vertue can maintaine them in the poſſeſſion of their authority, and how they acquire not ſo great reputation by iſſuing frō their race, as they undergoe an obligation to become worthy of their deſcent, and to doe as Spring waters, which ſtill remount as high as their Sourſes.

Quanto majorum vita preclarior tanto horum ſocordia flagitior.

Majorum gloria poſteris quaſi lumen eſt, neque bona eorum neque mala in occulto patitur.

Chap. 6.

The ſequence of the ſame Diſcourſe.

AS the greatneſſe and celebritie of a Family doth no way contribute any authority to thoſe who are baſe and unworthy of the name they beare: So neyther doe riches give any addition of honour, either to Prodigals abuſing their fortunes, nor to miſers who know not the right uſe thereof. But thoſe who underſtand rightly, how to uſe them upon occaſions, have a great helpe both in the raiſing and maintaining their reputation. Liberality, and magnificence; are two vertues of great ſplendour in publicke, making the Authours both famous, and farre renowned. The one, by benefits and rewards, by Prudence diſpenſed; by knowing how to make election of perſons, cauſes, times, and places; the other, by honourable expences, employed in remarkeable actions, or in publicke workes, having reflection either on our Countries honour, or on the

the glory and ſervice of God: For as the *Philoſopher* hath obſerved, The moſt glorious are thoſe which concerne the ſervice due to the Deitie. Now, if every great action ought to have an eminent object, what object can be more worthy, or more proportionable to the large expences of magnificence, than the honour due to the Divine Majeſtie. *The houſe I will build ſhall be great and ſumptuous, becauſe our God is great and Majeſticall* (ſayd King *Salomon* when hee deſigned the building of that Majeſticall Temple, one of the worlds Wonders) alleadging no other reaſon for the incomparable Majeſtie of his worke, but the onely greatneſſe of God. For thoſe vaſt expences, divers put themſelves unto, upon vaine and frivolous occaſions; the memory whereof is as ſoone paſt as ſmoake or winde, and its ſubject often as ſhamefull; deſerve not the name of magnificence, but rather of profuſion, bringing no credit or glory at all, but blame and reproach to their Authors. As to give indiſcreetly, is not to underſtand how to beſtow, but is onely not to know how to keepe: So

Honorabiles ſumtus ſunt maximè qui ad divinum ſacrificium pertinent. Ariſt. lib. 4. Eth. cap. 2.

to ſpend in theſe unworthy and frivolous occaſions, is not to be magnificent, it is not to be well adviſed. It is the object that giveth the forme, the eſteeme and value, to the action. But bounty is rightly beſtowed, and expences well placed; liberality caſts a a luſter, magnificency appeareth: and both theſe acquire great authority among men: to thoſe who rightly manage them.

To give, and doe good, is to imitate God, who hath not onely goodneſſe to will, but power and riches to enable him to do good. To imitate the bounty and magnificence of the Almighty, is to make our ſelves admirable among men: and as our *Saviour* ſayd in the Goſpell. *Thoſe who are in honour and credit among men, are called Benefactors.* Wherefore the rich ought to uſe it as we doe our bloud: which men more carefully conſerve than any thing whatſoever, when there is no neceſſity of ſpending it; but where there is queſtion of maintayning Gods, our Kings, or Countries cauſe, or to gaine honour in a battaile; there is nothing which the couragious and magnanimous loſe more freely

freely or readily. Vpon ſuch occaſions it is cowardize to keepe our bloud, glory to loſe it. So the right uſe of riches, is to conſerve them with moderate care, when it is neither neceſſary, uſefull, nor honourable to ſpend them; but when any occaſion is offered, either to doe good for others, or to ſhew magnificence in any famous act; It is neceſſary to employ them at ſuch time with the like cheerefulneſſe as the Souldier diſpends his bloud, and at all times more to eſteeme Honour than gold, Authority than goods.

In this manner, liberality and magnificence, are meanes of acquiring and maintaining credit by riches. But in caſe of honours, States, and dignities; Iuſtice, moderation, love of the publicke, and the defence and protection of the poore and impotent: doe gaine very much. For when we ſee thoſe who are placed in dignities, to make no other uſe of their power, but to cauſe right and reaſon to take place, to ſupport innocencie, and to bereave iniquity of its liberty to doe ill; yet notwithſtanding, not to have a heart more puffed up with vaine-

glory, but only a mind farther charged with care, and not to grow paſſionate but for publicke intereſt, and not ſeeke by their proper labours, but only the good and quiet of others, not to rule for themſelves; but by commanding to be ſerviceable to all, to ſhew themſelves as terrours to oppreſſors, and the ſafety of the oppreſſed, and not to employ Authority but in defence of what needeth ſupport, or to reſiſt what cannot otherwiſe be repelled but by ſuch a Iuſtice as is armed with power: is the thing in truth which raviſheth all men with admiration: It is that which acquireth, and maintaineth credit in publick opinion, cauſing thoſe who execute ſuch actions, to be reverenced as the Gods of other men. In this ſort, *Iob* repreſenteth the credit he had among thoſe of his Nation, namely by his Iuſtice, and equity. *When*

Iob. cap. 23. *I drew neare* (ſayth he) *the Gates of the Citie, and when they prepared a Chaire for me in the middle of the place, the young men retyred, and the old men aroſe and ſtood up out of Honour; The Princes gave over ſpeaking, holding the finger on the mouth. The Governours were ſilent,*

ſilent, and their tongues were faſtened to their pallats. The Eare that heard my diſcourſe, eſteemed me right happy, and the Eye contemplating my gravity, gave teſtimony to all men of me: Becauſe I had delivered the poore, who had only cryes and ſighes to defend them, and the oppreſſed Orphan who found no reliefe: I have comforted the afflicted heart of the Widow, I cloathed my ſelfe with Iuſtice, as with a Garment of Honour, and a Diadem of Glory. I have bin the Blind mans Eye, the Lame mans foot, and the Poore mans Father. See here plainly (in this example drawne out of Scripture) how the credit & authority of a Magiſtrate, is the fruit of his Iuſtice and Integrity. It is fitting that a Souldier know how to uſe his armes, if he will have them defend him: It is likewiſe requiſite, that he who is endowed with worthy qualities of the minde, know how to employ them, if hee intend they ſhould grace him, and put him into, or maintaine him in authority. For hee muſt underſtand how to take his favourable times, moments, and occaſions to produce and manifeſt them. The obſervation of ſeaſons,

conſtellations, dayes, and houres, is not more neceſſary for thoſe who undertake huſbandry, to plant, ſow, graft, or to inoculate ſucceſſefully. If either Prudence, or good fortune faile at this point, we ſhall never advance any thing: and be it that wee trip by indiſcretion, or ſlip by misfortune in this paſſage, we ſhall ſtill make the noſe and ground meet, ſave only that Imprudencie herein is blamable, Infortunitie excuſable.

But to conclude all this diſconrſe concerning Authority; The acquiring thereof is not all, we muſt likewiſe beware we abuſe it not, or looſe, or weaken it by imploying it to every frivolous purpoſe, and without neceſſitie. For as thoſe who daily take Phyſicke, make it uſeleſſe and inefficacious, by the over frequent uſe thereof, taking away its vigour and operation by the cuſtome: So thoſe who in all affaires and accidents are overſtiffe, and will ſtraine their Authority to the height, enervate, and weaken it, ſo as reſolving never to ſlacken or unbend the bow, they in the end doe abſolutely breake it. It

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is fitting ſometime to give that way in leſſe important occaſions, which a man would not doe, in the obtaining what is fitting in more principall occurrents: it is not neceſſary in paſſing a River to goe directly againſt the ſtreame, and to afflict our ſelves with an unneceſſary toyle, but rather to overcome its force in byaſing the current, and by a little deſcending and not by direct mounting to breake its force and make way. Who ſo knoweth how to give way when in diſcretion he ought, ſhall overcome all with patience. We are to keepe the ſhoot-anchor for great tempeſts; Credit and Authority for eminent occaſions; ſmall ones ought not to detaine it, to the end, great ones may meet it, in its full meaſure. We have an excellent example hereof in *Tacitus*, where a famous Senatour (*Cajus Caſsius*) ſpeaketh theſe notable words to the Senate in a Subject of conſequence. *I have divers times not oppoſed many ſcarce reaſonable things, which have bin propoſed in this aſſembly, to the end not to deſtroy by over importune and frequent contradictions all the Authority I have; but to keepe*

Tac. lib. 14. Annal. 1.

keep it intire for the Common-wealths neceſsities, if happily affaires ſtand in need of firme and free Counſell. Here you ſee how Prudence ought to husband Authority.

Chap. 7.

Of good Luck.

Order is tranſmuted, when the Blinde lead the cleare-ſighted. Nevertheleſſe in worldly affaires, if Fortune guide not Prudence, yet doth ſhe at leaſt open the way for it, and cauſeth it to attaine its ayme. Prudence may paſſe on without the conduct of fortune, but not arrive to the end wherto it aſpireth, without the favour of fortunes Convoy: So as Prudence inventing ſage Counſels, and Fortune affording happy events; The cleare-ſighted diſpoſeth the way, but the blind findeth the paſſage. It is not therefore ſufficient to have Prudence for the propoſing of good Counſels, and

and Credit and Authority to cauſe them to be received; if fortune accompany not the execution to make them ſucceſſefull. For though it be true that the Wiſeman ought not to be anſwerable for events, they being out of his Iurisdiction, but onely for ſuch Counſels as depend upon himſelfe, yet ſo it is notwithſtanding, that hee both ſeeketh and deſireth his pretenſions, as all other things doe, and when for the obtayning thereof, he hath performed what he eyther ought, or is able to effect; in concluſion he findeth himſelfe fruſtrate. The glory of his Prudence doth not greatly content him, without the fruit: and if he merit not reproach, yet ſeemeth he worthy of compaſſion: ſince the vulgar in matter of affaires regard not the counſels, but the events: they more eſteeme a naughty counſell with happy event, than a good and ſage one, which ſucceedeth not; and good fortune once fayling him, both Wiſedome, Prudence, Iudgment, and all things ſeeme to be wanting in the opinion of men. Truly thoſe who having on their part performed what they

ought; yet doe only want ſucceſſe, may defend themſelves with the anſwer, which *Siramnes* a *Perſian* Gentleman, made to certaine of his friends, who wondred why his Enterpriſes were ſo improſperous, his propoſitions being ſo pithy. The reaſon (ſayd he) is, becauſe I am only Maſter of my diſcourſe, but Fortune of the effects. Yet notwithſtanding, when good counſels take effect, men alwayes eſteeme them the beſt, and when they ſucceed not, the contrary event cauſeth them to be in ſome meaſure ſuſpected. In a word, Prudence without ſucceſſe is a faire tree without fruit, and it is the fruit, not the tree; the ſucceſſe, and not the counſell, men chiefly deſire; ſince counſell is not ſought for, but in hope of the deſired event, the way but for the marke, the *Medium* but for the *Terminus* and the meanes but for the end.

Plut. in his Morals of the notable ſaings of Princes, Kings, and Captaines.

Now that good Luck, whereof I ſpeake, proceeds not, either from that blinde Fortune, which ſpirits yet more blinde have forged, nor from that imaginary deſtiny of inflexible decrees, whereto Heatheniſh Antiquity

tiquity hath ſubjected the Counſels even of *Iupiter* himſelfe, nor on the diſpoſition of Celeſtiall bodies, whereto the vanity of Nativity-caſters, ſubmit the whole order of things happening here on earth, whether Naturall, voluntary, or caſuall. Fortune is a Fable, Deſtiny a Dreame, and that neceſſitie the judiciall Aſtrologers pretend to bee impoſed by the Starres upon humane and free actions, or upon caſuall and accidentall events; is an evident errour, and a manifeſt impietie. For as concerning thoſe effects depending on naturall and neceſſary cauſes; the order of the World and Nature, ranging inferiour bodyes under ſuperiour ones; giveth to thoſe Authority, to thoſe dependancie, and regulateth the actions of elementary Bodies by the Law of the influence of Celeſtiall Bodies. All that God hath made is eſtabliſhed with order (ſayth the Apoſtle). But what power would men aſcribe to Starres, either over humane actions, proceeding from the Will, or over caſuall occurrents, which being accidentall effects, cannot by conſequence have any Naturall,

Quæ a Deo ſunt, ordinata ſunt.

Natura ad unum determinatur.

certaine, or limited cauſe. Nature being appointed to a certaine and infallible end, according to a Philoſophicall Maxim; what authority or command can ſhe have eyther over mans will being unbounded, free, and indifferent, to the one or other, of two contrary objects; or over that, which being meerely caſuall, may eyther happen or not happen? The Starres being corporeall, what can they imprint upon the ſoule of man being ſpirituall; unreaſonable things, upon reaſonable ones; what is neceſſitated, upon what is free; or a thing determined upon an indifferent matter? In like manner, concerning caſuall accidents · what ſubordination can caſuall and accidentall things, have to the influences of Starres, being regulated, neceſſary, and infallible things? Is not this as much as to ſtrive againſt all reaſon, and to abuſe the weakneſſe and credulity of ſpirits; ſo much as only to dare (I will not ſay maintaine) but even to broach ſuch abſurd propoſitions. The Starres then (O man) ſhall be culpable of thine offences, authors of thy good workes, cauſes of thy proſperities, inſtruments

inſtruments of thine infortunities: if you doe any good they ſhall have the merit, and conſequently the reward ſhall bee due to them, and not to you. If you offend, they ſhall beare the blame, and you may juſtly caſt the puniſhment upon them. And why are Lawes among you, if the Starres impoſe lawes upon you? If the ſtarres be the cauſes of your good and bad actions, and you only the inſtruments, to whom is the penaltie of ill, or crowne of good due, to the workman, or his tooles, to the cauſe, or to the inſtrument? See you not plainly, that if theſe propoſitions were true, you offer injury to the Starres to appropriate to your ſelves the reward of the good which they doe, and wrong to your ſelves, to inflict on your ſelves, the puniſhment of the evill you commit not? Who ſees not how theſe propoſitions overthrow all reaſon, all juſtice, all vertue, all order, and all policie. In like manner, if it be the Starres which ſend good fortunes, or fatalties, proſperities or adverſities to men; they then governe the world, it is they who raiſe ſome, and repreſſe others,

who distribute honours, give victories, transferre Scepters, and dispose of Kingdomes. But if this be thus, wherefore is merit raised in one time, and why at another time doth ambition obtaine all Honours? Is it because the Starres one while make use of justice, an otherwhile of favours? Why in one age doth *Industry* conferre dignities, in another gold, or advantage in bloud: is it because the Starres alter and accommodate themselves to the abuse of times, as well as men doe? Why in one Nation doth Election conferre Crownes, in another Succession? Is it by reason the Starres follow the fashions of Countries; and doe diversly distribute their benefits, according to the lawes of Kingdomes? But they doe well in accommodating themselves to lawes, lest they should bee resisted, and finde some more compulsive thing then their owne power. Of two, borne at the same instant, and under the same Constellations, why is the one prosperous, the other miserable? and the aspect of Starres beeing so equall in both, why should the effect bee so different? Who seeth

ſeeth not that the Starres conſiſting of naturall and neceſſary cauſes, appearing in all times and places, and in all and every where after the ſame faſhion, producing ſo inconſtant and various effects, according to places, moments, and circumſtances, cannot be any conſtant cauſe of humaine events, but in their conceipts, who have neyther rule nor reaſon.

Naturall reaſon clearely ſheweth the vanitie of their diſcourſe: Scripture condemneth them as full of Superſtition, errour, and impietie. *Feare not the ſignes of Heaven, which Idolatrers dread, becauſe the Lawes of the Nations are vaine:* ſayth the Prophet *Ieremy:* and the Church rejects and deteſteth them, as contrary to true pietie. *Iudiciall Aſtrologers, and the Planetaries* (ſayth Saint *Auguſtine*) *are condemned by the Chriſtian Law.* And Saint *Epiphanius* reporteth, that *Aquila Ponticus*, who in the Primitive Church, in the Emperour *Adrian* his time, tranſlated the old Teſtament out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, was expelled out of the Church, for addicting himſelfe to judiciall

Inſigna cœli nolite metuere, qui timent gentes, quia leges populorum vana ſunt. Ierem. c. 10.

Aſtrologia, & planetarii damnatur à Chriſtiana & vera pietate De Aug. l. 4. Confeſſ.

De Epiph. l. de ſom. & menſuris.

D. Baſ. in c. 14. Eſay.

ciall Aſtrologie. All the Holy Fathers, with joynt conſent have impugned this errour; and St. *Baſil* ſayth, *That it confoundeth mans ſpirit, and takes away Gods Providence.* Yea, even the Lawes of well inſtituted Republiques among the ancient *Pagans*, have baniſhed theſe judiciaries and deviners of good events, as pernicious to civill ſocietie. And we reade in *Tacitus* of a Decree in Senate made in the Emperour *Tiberius* his time, to expell them out of all *Italy*. Whereupon this grave Authour addeth a very remarkeable obſervation, that this kind of men have at all times beene chaſed out of *Rome*, and yet have they continually beene retayned and ſupported; Expelled from thence by publick Lawes, but foſtred by the ſuperſtitious, & fooliſh credulitie of particulars. So as neyther humane actions, nor caſuall accidents, depend at all upon the diſpoſition of Stars, neither as efficient cauſes, nor as ſignes or tokens of what hapneth. Againſt the errour of *Origen*, who affirmed; that though the Starres cannot be the cauſes of what is done, eyther freely by man, or caſually by hazard,

Factum eſt Senatus conſultum de Mathematicis Italia Pellendis, genus hominum quod in urbe noſtra & expelletur ſemper, & retinebitur. Tac. lib. 1. Ann.

hazard, yet so it is, that one may know what will happen by the inspection of Starres, as by the reading of a booke, where God hath written, and imprinted with his finger, in great and legible Characters, all the order of future things, as in a Table, or Patterne of his divine prescience, which hee hath exposed to mans sight. An errour which the Scripture condemneth as well as the former; forbidding us to have recourse to Starres in any sort, save only to know times and seasons, and what hapneth by a natural, and necessary order.

But first, as for what concerneth humane actions, they have not any neare and interiour cause, but only mans free will, resolving eyther upon good or evill: And as for more remote and exteriour causes: when man operateth rightly and suitably to reason: God concurres, as the mooving cause, (eyther by his generall concurrency or particular, in an naturall order, as some will have it) in naturall and morall actions, or by a particular grace, or by a supernaturall order, in Christian and supernaturall actions. After the law:

(whether divine, or humane) the just customes of those Countryes where we inhabite, and the good example eyther of Ancients, or of such with whom wee converse, are the exteriour meanes, interiourly moving the will, to incline it selfe toward good: And when man is inclinable to evill; his irregular actions, cannot be imputed (besides his proper inclination being the interiour and principall motive) but to the Divels impulsion to the perswasion of wicked persons, to pernicious example, to the attractions of Creatures, or to occasions depending upon, and inclining toward vice: but to the Starres they can no way be referred, but indirectly: in that Starres may incite passions in the inferiour appetite, and these passions the will. As for what concerneth casuall events (being the subject of our question) they have no other cause, save onely the disposition and casuall encounter of certaine circumstances of times, places, and persons, whereon such uncertaine affects depend as upon unsure, and irregulated causes. But I call this chance casuall (as to us) but not as

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to God: to whom nothing is accidentall, but all fore-seene by his prescience, and ordered by his providence. For if even a poore Sparrow falls not to ground without Gods Providence (as the Gospell speaketh) were it not a manifest impietie to suppose, that any thing could happen to man which God foreseeth not by his fore-knowledge: and if good; ordained by his expresse will: but if ill; permitted by his secret and hidden Will, but alwayes holy and just providence. So the good fortune (whereof we speake) causing good designes and sage counsels happily to succeed, proceed not but from the casuall disposition, and encounter of circumstances which are to concurre toward the production of happy successes: This being often casuall, as concerning our providence, but at all times foreseene, and ordered by that of God: who so well disposeth the places, times, persons, and affayres, in favour of such as he intendeth to make use of in the execution of eminent actions, as all things make way, and succeed favourably for them.

Chap. 8.

That this good Fortune followes some, and how it is to be managed.

His good Fortune being understood according to my explication, is an heavenly guift which God hath in such sort annexed to certain persons, as it followeth and accompanieth them in all places, as the shadow doth the body. To deny this, were to be ignorant of what Histories affirme, and whatsoever daily happeneth in humane affaires. For who can rightly consider the Progresse and pursuit of *Augustus* his fortunes, who among all the Emperours and Monarchs of the earth hath merited the name of *Happie*: but he must observe the disposition, and order of Gods Providence causing affaires, humors, times, and other circumstances to meet in the same

same point, and manner as was fitting, did raise, and leade him as by the hand to the soveraigne authority of the worlds Empire. *Iulius Cæsar* had already begun to cast the platforme of Monarkie; but because things were as then not absolutely disposed for so great an alteration; Love of liberty, and the zeale of maintaining the same, still boyling in their breasts: the successe was not answerable to his couragious resolutions, and his designes wanting no valour to undertake it, fayled only of fortune to bring it to effect. But at the same instant, when *Augustus* began to appeare in the lists, all things shewed themselves favourable, and inclinable to his wishes. The people incensed for the death of *Cæsar*, against those who defended the Common wealths liberty. Affections, and humours inclined to alteration: *Anthony* under pretext of revenging this death, fighting with generall approbation against publike liberty. *Cicero* deceived under *Augustus* his apparance (as then named *Octavius*) putting him into reputation, and opening (unawares the first passage to his future great-

neſſe: After this, the conſpiracie betweene *Anthony* and *Lepidus* for the ridding their hands of the principall heads of the Republickes faction, and ſo to ſhare the Empire betweene them three. The oppoſites ſuppreſſed, reſiſtances removed; The Empire divided; *Lepidus* ſoone giving place to his two Companions; *Anthony* in the end to *Auguſtus*: all Authority collected, and reunited in him alone: a triumphant armie on foot to maintaine it: The peoples, and great perſons their affections ready to receive him: his enemies, eyther dead, ſubdued, or won with rewards; Conſpiracies either repreſſed by feare, or vanquiſhed for want of power, Adverſaries overcome, or diſperſed by clemency; In a word, all things diſpoſed to Crowne and Proclaime him Emperour of the World, who ſeeth not plainly Gods providence diſpoſing all things in his favour, in this tiſſure, and linkes of proſperities. Now were it that God by meanes of the temporall Monarkie in *Rome*, intended to lay the foundation of the ſpirituall, which IESVS CHRIST, who was

pleaſed

pleased to appeare in this world, came to establish in his Church; Or were it that by an universall peace proceeding from the conduct of one only head, he intended to dispose men to the reception of the promised *Messias*, who brought peace upon the Earth; or were it, that by reducing all Nations under the authority of one Emperor, he would open by these means (as St. *Leo* observeth) the course of the Gospell; which was to be announced, and published to all Nations: Or besides all these reasons were it for some other secret, or hidden cause, one may clearly know and perceive that this greatnesse of *Augustus*, is not a worke of his vertue but of his good fortune, and his good fortune, not a worke of hazard, Destiny, or the Starres, but of Gods Providence. I alleadge this so vulgar, and well knowne an exãple, to shew that the good fortune which follows some persons, depẽdeth only on the concurrence of circumstances rightly disposed, and ordained by Gods Providence, willing that these their designes should succeed, to make use of them toward the execution

cution of his Eternall decrees, whether they imagine or aime at any such matter or otherwise. If their designes be honest and just, he imployeth them by his expresse will; If wicked and unjust, he suffers them, and by his wisdome draweth there out the good he intendeth.

But this good fortune seemes to be so farre affected to some, as it not onely followes their persons, but even all things concerning them, or that have relation unto them: as the Prosperitie of *Augustus* followed all his Lieutenants, who with incredible good fortune obtained for him infinite famous victories. *Alexander* the *Great*, his fortunes followed his very pictures; and the Ancients were of opinion, that his pourtraicts carried about the neck, made those happy and fortunate who wore them. And wee reade in the histories of *Bohemia*, how that famous Captaine *Iohn Zisca*, who never lost Battaile where himselfe was present, had so great confidence in his good fortune; as he ordained, that after his death his skin should be taken off, and a Drum to be headed therewith

better use of this found treasure, then a prodigall who spends all: so a Prudent and sage person doth better employ his good fortune, then doth a foole or indiscreet person, who looseth it in abusing it. It is God then who giveth this good fortune, but it is man who makes use of it: his favour conferres it, but our Prudence must imploy, and manage it. And as Gods grace doth not exclude but command mans cooperation in things concerning his eternall salvation: So Gods favour restraineth not, but requireth mans concurrencie in what hath reflection upon the conduct of temporall affaires; and the good fortune hee conferreth on some, hath such dependancie on his benificence as their Prudence, their Diligence, and their Industrie are at all times requisite toward the validitie thereof. For *God* maketh not use of man as of an inanimate & unreasonable Instrument, cooperating nothing of himselfe toward the workmans art, but suffring him to performe all; but he employeth him as an instrument endowed with soule and reason, who being moved, ought also him.

with, which he commanded ſhould be beaten up, in the head of the Armie; perſwading himſelfe that the like good fortune continually following his perſon whileſt he lived, would likewiſe follow his skin and carkaſſe after his Deceaſe. The ſame felicity following famous Commanders in warre, cauſing them to performe brave exploits: doth likewiſe accompany (even in matters of peace) thoſe generous ſoules; whoſe counſels, and directions God bleſſeth for the proſperity of States: in a ſuch a meaſure, as all they adviſe, ſucceeds, and is effectuall; when as whatſoever others, no leſſe prudent, and capable, ſhall propound, or ſeeme to let forward, becommeth vaine, and fruitleſſe: to ſhew us that in the decrees of humane Prudence; Fortune, (or to ſpeake more properly) Gods Providence, will maintaine the Empire. But though the enjoyment of good fortune, be a thing not otherwiſe depending on us, then is the finding of a hidden treaſure; which not the deſigne, but the luckie accident cauſeth to come to paſſe. Yet ſo it is that as a good husband maketh

himſelfe to ſtirre, and following his proper, and voluntary propenſion, upon the firſt motion his mover gives him, to finiſh together with him the deſigned worke. Good fortune followed *Auguſtus* from his Cradle even to his Grave; but obſerve how hee hath at all times employed it by his paines, husbanded it by his diligence, managed it by his wiſdome: ſo farre forth as he hath left it queſtionable, whether his Prudence be more obliged to his fortune, in having ſo faithfully followed it, or his fortune to his Prudence, in having ſo ſagely conducted it. *Alexander* likewiſe was happy; Fortune ſeeming to make choyce of him for her Favourite; but had he ſlept in Idleneſſe, had he not ſeconded his Fortunes by his Travailes and Courage: his Fortune would never have layd him in the Bed of Victories and Triumphs, which acquired him the Title of *Great*. It is therfore neceſſary, for thoſe who are ſecõded with good ſucceſſe in their deſignes & counſels, to endeavor on their parts, to employ it profitably, & to manage it diſcreetly; I ſay diſcreetly, ſince fortune is oftẽ offended

with ſuch as abuſe her favors, who attempt all things, who unadviſedly undertake actions: and who without ſounding the feare, fall into the precipice: ſuppoſing their good fortune hath compacted with their imprudencie, obliging her ſelfe to follow it at all points. There is no treaſure ſo great, but Prodigality can draine it, nor Fortune ſo propitious, that folly will not fruſtrate. And it is not ordinarily ſeene, that the moſt fortunate, are in concluſiõ cruſhed with the greateſt miſeries; for being over confident of their Proſperity, they commit the groſſeſt abſurdities: ſo as the ſame good Fortune which in favouring blindeth them, in blinding overthroweth them, cauſing them out of their owne folly to pay uſe for her former benefits. We are to acknowledg, that Fortune being blind may trip, ſtanding on a Bowle ſhe may turne, having Wings ſhe may flye away, If Prudence ſhew her not light, Diſcretion ſettle her not, and thereverence we beare her oblige her not to ſtay.

Diſcretion ought to be ſeconded by Modeſtie; ſince Pride and inſolency are the moſt

moſt dangerous rockes threatning the proſperous. They are ordinarily engendred by good Fortune, yet doe they commonly ſpoyle and ruine their productrix. For preſumption moveth men, not at all to meaſure their forces, throwing them headlong into hazards, whence good fortune cannot diſingage them; it cauſeth them to ſcorne others, this ſcorne rayſeth envie, out of envie ariſe Counterchecks, enmities, and contradictions, which in the end ſhake the fortune of the moſt proſperous; for having carried themſelves over-inſolently in their advancements. So as better counſell cannot be followed, then to imitate the modeſty of *Agathocles*, who from the Pottery, being rayſed to Royaltie, *Cauſed Earthen Veſſels to be mingled with thoſe of Gold and ſilver, at his Table, to the end the remembrance of his former meaneſſe, might hinder him from growing proud of his Preſent Greatneſſe.* What felicitie, therefore ſoever followeth the proſperous, hee ought never to forget hee is man; and how the very thing ſeeming to rayſe him above others, is but onely the

puffe of a fraile Fortune, which may forſake him in a moment; as the Winde cauſing a Ship to ſayle, often leaves her in the middle of her Voyage. We are to conſider, that there are divers things, which contribute toward the conſervation, and maintenance of good Fortune, and chiefly the good will and friendſhip of other men, which is loſt by Pride, but gayned and maintayned by moderation. But ſince good Fortune is a heavenly guift, and a favour from God, (as I have formerly ſhewed) the moſt aſſured meanes to maintaine it, is an humble acknowledgment toward him who beſtoweth it; an acknowledgment conſiſting of two points: In rendring him the honour and glory by thankeſgiving; and in not imploying it, but in juſt enterpriſes, and conformable to his holy Will, by a pure, and upright intention. For when wee abuſe Gods Benefits, or aſſume the Honour thereof to our ſelves, or when we imploy it only to our own particular profit, or when we make uſe thereof, againſt

against the Giver; God ordinarily revoketh his guifts, or turneth them to the ruine and Confusion of ungratefull persons.

Whereupon, wee see in History, and dayly Experience, that those who have the greatest good Fortunes and Prosperities, in this World, often fall upon most fatall and unfortunate ends. Wherein wee are to acknowledge the Iustice of Gods Iudgements, in the chasticement of their ingratitude.

Chap. 9.

Of Fortitude and Courage.

IVſtice often encountreth diverſ impediments, in the execution of the good it deſigneth; Lets (I ſay) ſo ſtrong ſometimes, and ſo violent, as Authority cannot overcome them, nor can good fortune divert them; if Fortitude and Courage breake not through and ſurmount them. Fortitude therefore is a right neceſſary vertue, to performe, and execute, by overcomming all oppoſite reſiſtances. And it is hereof we are now to treate.

Nature hath imprinted in all things a certaine inclination, not only to procure good, and avoydeevill, but even to reſiſt things contrary, eyther hindring the purſuite of what is profitable, or caſting in our way, what is hurtfull unto us. Fire hath a naturall propenſion, not onely to raiſe it ſelfe aloft, from inferiour places, not agreeable thereto,

thereto, and to tend to its naturall sphere, and convenient residence; but moreover to resist all things corrupting it, or hindring its mounting. Water hath not onely an inclination to slide toward the Sea, the place it seekes for; but a swiftnesse and violence to make it selfe way over bankes, ditches, rockes, and mountains, resisting her course. A stone, besides the weight, causing it to fall to its center, hath the strength and hardnesse, to crush and breake things opposite to its descent. All living creatures, besides the naturall appetite, inciting and drawing them toward objects pleasing to their senses, are, besides, stirred up, by a secret instigation, to arme themselves, either with beake, teeth, nayles, or other naturall weapons, against whatsoever shall hinder them from the approach or enjoyment of those things they affect. Man likewise is not onely endowed with the concupiscible apperite, inclining him to the purchase of things sutable to his nature, and to the avoyding their contraries, but with an irascible appetite likewise, serving him as a spur, and affor-

ding him vigour, to fight against all resistances restrayning him from the good hee aymeth at, and against all mischies attempting and assalting him. The flashes, and motions of this irascible appetite, as hop; boldnesse, and choler (the three principall passions of the irascible) being well ordered and conducted by reason, serve as souldiers to vertue, to fight under her Ensigne against such difficulties, and resistances as shee encounters in the execution of her designes. So Saint *Gregory* of *Nice*, elegantly termeth Choler, a souldier under the pay of concupiscence, fighting for her against all things opposing her pursuits; A souldier arming himselfe in loves quarrell, to overflow, and surmount whatsoever shall crosse her desires. Now if Temperance doth so evenly regulate the desires of love, as to cause man, not to love, or desire, but onely what is conformable to reason; In this case the motions of the irascible part, arming themselves against oppositions, are just and reasonable, and serve as instruments for vertue. For the Stoicks were in the wrong in con

Greg. Nyss. Nemesius l. 4. Philos. ca. 13. Ira est armigera concupiscentiæ.

condemning all Passions as vitious, and in striving utterly to bereave us thereof: since passions are naturall to man, vice being not derived from nature, but from the will. Wherefore the Philosopher rejecteth this Proposition as false. And the Church it selfe, at a famous Councell in Saint *Hieromes* time, condemned as heretickes, certaine Anachorites, who would introcuce a kinde of Apathie and impassibility. Since (saith this holy Father) he who wholly taketh passions from men, doth as much as he who bereaveth man of his humane nature. Nay, I will say more, it is to rob man of the spurre toward vertue. For God hath ingrafted these transports and motions in man, not to follow them as bruit beasts, without reason, or restraint; but to make reasonable use thereof, as provocations exciting us to the eschewing of ill, and pursuit of good. Reason sheweth man both good and ill; the Will inciteth us toward good, and divetteth us from ill: Passions well ordered by reason, serve as spurs to the will, to put her forward with more ardour,

As *Lycus* King of *Thrace*, who destroyed al the Vines in his kingdome, because Wine inebriated the passions *Hier. ep. ad Cresiphon. contra Pelagium. Ex homine passionem tollere, hoc est hominem ex homine tollere.*

and vehemencie whither reason conducts her, and her motion leads her; But chiefly when the good which vertue proposeth is difficult, and hardly to be executed: for vertue at such times intreates the passions of the irascible, to lend her strong hand, and as souldiers to take armes for her assistance; And presently at her summons, *Hope*, (the first motion of the irascible) begins to arme and to put her in heart: *Hope* is seconded by a generous *Audacitie*, as with a second Champion, who surmounting the consideration of all obstacles, which might stoppe his course, exposeth and puts himselfe forward without all feare of danger, to such meanes as may serve him to execute his resolution. But if the resistance of wicked persons oppose and crosse him, *Choler* as a third souldier comes to the rescue, which pricking and awaking the soule, as with a quickning sting, heats and inflames her with a holy violence against iniquity. But by reason these three souldiers are dangerous if they be not moderated by the lawes of good discipline, and in that hope may

prove raſh, Audacitie fooliſh, and Choler precipitate. Wee are therefore to be watie, leſt preſumptuous Hope engage us not in deſperate enterpriſes, indiſcreet boldneſſe into impoſſibilities, blinde Choler into inevitable ruines: But rather that conſideration guiding Hope, diſcretion boldneſſe, and reaſon Choler: vertue by this meanes may employ theſe three Champions in the ſage, valorous, and happy execution of her intentions: For there is this difference betweene thoſe who follow the violence and brutalitie of their paſſions; and others who regulating them by reaſon, make uſe of them onely as incitements towards vertue: that the former fooliſh caſt themſelves upon the very ſwords point which nature hath given them; the latter imploy it prudently to the right uſe: the former hereby finding onely therein their ruine, the latter extracting thence their glory. Thoſe if they enterpriſe any good action, ſuffer themſelves to bee tranſported precipitately to their downefall, ſoone loſing their ſyrineſſe in the progreſſe of what they undertake: The

second governing their transports by judgement, revigorate their resolutions; the further they engage themselves in dangerous enterprises; shewing more courage in the conclusion, than in the beginning of their atchievements; to which purpose the Philosopher hath pronounced this approved Maxime: *That the Audacious before perils, put themselves forward, but in dangers they flie. Temerity casts them thereinto, Timiditie forceth them to retire.* Now this hapneth by reason this sort of audacious people who follow the first apprehension, give themselves no leysure to foresee all the difficulties opposite to their designes. So that as the *Andabats* they cast themselves headlong into dangers, & being once engaged in the medley, and there encountring greater oppositions than they imagined, they are amazed, they shrinke and recoyle. But those who guide their rage by reason, foresee all the perils they may probably encounter in their designed affaires, without precipitately plunging themselves thereinto; Wherefore, not passion, but judicious reason causing them

Arist. lib. 3. Eth. ca. 7. audaces prævalentes sunt ante pericula, in ipsis autem discedunt.

to put themselves upon dangers, they at first seeme coole, taking their times, and managing their forces: but being once throughly engaged in danger, they then incite their slackneſſe, as doth the Rhinocetos, generously employing the spurre of boldneſſe, and of Choler, to put forward their resolution.

But herein Prudence is to be required, as indeed all vertues hold hands, one having need of anothers mutuall assistance; but yet (as the Philosopher sayes) it is the proper office of the vertue of Fortitude, to rule and governe the iraſcible passions; Prudence doth indeed governe the motions of Hope, containing it within the limits of what it can, and ought to hope; according to the circumstances of affaires in present agitation; since it is the signe of an imprudent soule, to cast its hopes as farre as his desires, and his desires as farre as his dreames. But it is the vertue of Fortitude, which restraineth the motion of Audacitie within the bounds of discretion, and choleticke motions within the limits of reason. For a great

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Fortitude is to be required for the repreſſion of the formers indiſcretion, and the latters violence. And it is no ſmall argument of weakeneſſe, to ſuffer our ſelves without bit or bridle to be tranſported to their motions. Whereupon *Seneca* ſaith, that cholericke perſons are impetuous in their paſſions, and threatning in their comportments, but weake, ſlacke, and puſillanimous in heart: So as Prudence and Fortitude regulate theſe three Paſſions, and ranke theſe three ſoldiers under the lawes of diſcipline, to be after employed with diſcretion, and ſucceſſefulneſſe in the execution of brave and magnanimous enterpriſes.

Chap. 10.

Of the neceſſity of this fortitude in matter of execution.

ANd hence riſeth the courage wherewith theſe who have publike charge, ought to arme and defend themſelves. A courage which reaſon guideth,

Prudence accompanyeth, Discretion ruleth, Fortitude upholdeth, which a generous boldnesse animateth, and which a sanctified zeale inciteth to overcome such resistances as Iustice meets withall. For what doth it avayle them to be wise in knowing what is fit to be done, prudent to invent the means, just to appropriate affaires to publick good, authorised, and happy to cause them to be received, and succeed; if besides all this, they be not couragious, and magnanimous to breake through all obstacles opposing execution. The Philosopher sayth: *Wee are to proceed slowly and leysurely in the consideration of an Enterprise, this being the proper office of Prudence:* But in matter of execution, diligence, quicknesse, and promptitude is to bee used; this beeing indeed a part of Prudence, but more properly the effect of Courage. We are to conceive our designes at length, and without precipitation; as the Elephant who carries her fruit ten yearees; or as the Palme which stayes (as is said) a hundred yeares before she

Arist. lib. 6. Eth. cap. 6. Din deliberandum, sed cito faciendū.

produce her dates; or as Nature, which employeth many Apes, in the forming of gold, and doth ſlowly ſet forward in the production of her moſt excellent workes: and not to doe as the Bratche and Beare, who with over-much haſte never perfectly finiſh or forme their little ones in their bodyes, but produce them blinde, as the Bitch doth, or imperfect as doth the Beare; whereupon the old Proverbe aroſe: *The over-haſtie Bitch bringeth forth blinde Whelpes.* But on the other ſide, the Enterpriſe being once maturely conceived, and formed by a ſlow deliberation, it is fitting to diſcloſe, and cauſe it to appeare by a prompt and hardie courage; and not to doe as the fearfull Hindes, who ſtopping their fruit as much as they may, out of the apprehenſion of payne, bring them not forth (as is ſayd) but when they are conſtrayned by a greater feare, when thunder affrights them. It is a great weakneſs to produce that ſlowly and fearefully, which ſhould bee effected quickly and couragiouſly. For ſuch executions reſemble our worne Mines, making a greater

Canis feſtinans cæcos parit catulos.

greater sound than they afford substance; And as courage is required in prompt execution, so is it necessary for happy atchievement. For, Fortune is ordinarily amorous of courage, and doth hardly favour any other then the hardy. She assisteth the stour, and rejecteth the timerous; sayth the ancient Poet. Great feares meet with mighty perils, and hardy designes with happy events. *In Combats* (sayth *Salust*) *those who are most feareful, runne the hardest Fortune; Confidence serves as a Counterscarpe; all things resist the fearfull; all yeilds to the daring.* He who feares the Nettle, only touching it with his fingers end, is instantly pricked and stung; but he who graspes it closely in his hand without feare, feeles no offence therein. To feare resistance, is to bee already overcome; he who knoweth how to despise it, knoweth how to vanquish it. To doe, we must dare. Who feareth all, doth never any thing. The fearfull forge difficulties to themselves, even in easie atchievements; and precipices, in playnest wayes: They dayly consult, often designe, never execute;

Salust in conjur. Catil. in praelio iii est maximum periculum, qui maximè timent audacia pro muro habetur.

and they are so farre from beeing able to breake through the obstacles appearing, as they even avoyde those which are onely in their imagination: themselves destroying their bravest designes by their proper *Ideas.* They doe as *Demosthenes, Who thinking to flye from Souldiers, fled from Thistles:* or as the *Roman* Army, surprised with a Panick feare, *In seeing the Moone in Eclipse:* or as that of *Alexander, Who seeing the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, affrightedly trembled, and would not stirre a foot.* These vain feares are very fatall, in publicke persons, who in their most just enterprises, meet with true obstacles enough, without suffering groundlesse apprehensions, to forge imaginarie ones. How many tempests, Winds, rockes, and dangers threaten a Ship, before she arrive at a safe harbour, how many difficulties, traverses, and rancounters, justle a just designe, before it toucheth the marke? So as if the Pylote did not as well arme himselfe with courage, as with the Helme at the Sterne, and the Magistrate as well with Fortitude, and courage, as with Prudence: The former with his Helme would

Plut. in Demost.

Tacit. lib. 1. Annal.

Quintus Curtius.

would yeild to the first Storme, the latter with his Prudence, to the first opposition.

The wicked never fayle to countercheck the just, who seeke the common good; and because they want reason, audaciousnesse seconds them. If courage surmount not impudence, in vaine doth Iustice resist iniquitie. If impudence encounter pusillanimity, iniquitie will tryumph over Iustice. All men yeild not to right and reason, wherefore authority, and fortitude is given to Magistrates; but what would their authority serve them, if courage did not strengthen it? The hand makes the sword terrible, and courage causeth authority to be respectable. What use hath a cowardly slave of a sword having no valour? It is sayd, the *Tortois* hath no heart, and that is the cause she marcheth so slowly, seeming to have no vigor.

Those who are so slow and cold in execution, as though they durst not touch vpon it, make men suspect them to be hartlesse, and therby afford subiect for the baleſt persons to crosse their designes.

Chap. 11.

That the effeminate and timorous, are not proper for any matter of a high nature.

Noli quærere fieri Iudex, nisi virtute valeas irrumpere iniquitates populi.

THe Holy Ghost in Scripture admoniseth the effeminate and timerous, not to undertake publick Magistracies: Seeke not (saith hee by the mouth of the Wise) to be made Iudge, if by thy vertue thou beest notable to breake the iniquities of the people.

Soft Natures are not fit for any great imployments, being therefore unable eyther to bring profit, or to gaine glory in a State by the ranke of Authoritie; they ought to content themselves with the honor proceeding from obedience. But ambitious persons follow vanitie, without regarding fortitude; and (as the swallowes) the Windes carry them whither their wings could not convey them: they resemble the Ivie, which being

being of a clyming Nature, yet creeping on earth seekes for Walles and Trees to rayse it selfe by these supports, whither the strength of the roote could not cause it to mount: and being crept up whither it aspireth, it only produceth leaves and little Berries, to perpetrate its sterilitie. Such are the fruites of the Ambitious, which not their proper merits, but the prop of favour rayseth to dignities. Being once mounted to the top of their pretensions, supported by favour, friends, and money, they tollerate all, they connive with disorders, they nourish abuses, they let loose the raines to licentiousnesse, favours tye them, promises overcome them, threats astonish them, they onely seeke to maintaine their credits at the peoples cost; and all the profit they yeeld to the Common-wealth, is onely the leaves of pompe and pride, and the seed of alike Ambition, shooting forward and increasing with their honors, even to posterity.

Olivier, Chancellor of *France* spake properly to this purpose; when hee compared the *French* (who in their owne Natures are am-

ambitious) to Apes, and Monkies, who lighting on a Tree, mount, and climbe from branch to branch, to the very top; and when they can get no higher, they sit downe, and shew their tayles: So (sayth hee) those of our Nation, without staying till they be called to dignities, and without endeavouring to make themselves capable, or examining their owne sufficiencies, aspire to the highest pitch, whither favor can preferre them, they climbe from branch to branch, from honour to honour; and at length being at the heighth, and in the worlds eye, they discover their weakneſſe, and want of abilities to all men, and the seate of honour is often no other then a Stage in this worlds Theater, exposing them to laughter. For (as *Iulius Cæsar* in *Salust* sayth) those who live obscurely, rest unknown, and their renowne walkes even with their fortunes, if they faile in any thing, few take notice of their faults. But those who live in great eminencie, are exposed both they and their actions to the to the sight of all men.

Salust. in conjur. Catil. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam agunt, eorum fama, & fortuna pares sunt: Si quid deliquere pauci sciunt; Qui vero in excelso atatem agunt, eorum facta, cunctis mortalibus noverę.

Chap.

Chap. 12.

What things are neceſſary to acquire and conſerve the greatneſſe of courage.

BVt divers things are to concurre toward the forming of this Fortitude and this greatneſſe of courage: a quality requiſite for affording to the publike the fruits it expecteth from great Offices, to cauſe their authority to be regarded, and to ſupport and maintaine honour in a ſtout and generous nature: For neither doth nature imploy all materials for the forming of gold, nor *Phidias* to make his *Jupiter*, nor *Apelles* for the painting his *Alexander*: And *Plato* ſaid, how the Gods have compoſed ordinary men of earth and mudde; but thoſe they have appointed for the government and adminiſtration of Kingdomes and Empires; of Silver and Gold, and other pretious mettals. See wee not, whatſoever holdeth the firſt ranke in all things, is compo-

1 A ſtout and generous nature.

ſed of the pureſt materials? the Carbuncle among pretious ſtones, Gold among metals, Fire among the elements, the Empyreall heaven among celeſtiall bodies, the Sunne among the Plants, Man among living creatures.

Ayre and fire are predominant in the compoſition of mans body, being the moſt perfect creature on earth: water and mudde in the compoſition of wormes, and other more imperfect creatures. The naturall conſtitution is a great diſpoſition toward morall vertues, being of the order of naturall things, and namely toward the height of courage, fitting for thoſe who hold the principall rankes among men. Whereupon the Philoſopher ſaith, *that other Sciences are taught, but the art Politicke happeneth by lot.* As though he would ſay, that the naturall diſpoſition, a thing independent on our wil or induſtrie, but proceeding from above, doth greatly contribute thereto. For nature is a great foundation for Politicke vertues, and chiefly for magnanimity: a vertue proper for high enterpriſes.

Alia artes diſcuntur, politica ſorte contingit.

After the ground worke of a naturall disposition, good education is of extraordinary efficacie, and the Poets report *Achilles* to have beene so generous and couragious, because he was bred up with the marrow of Lyons. *Lycurgus* his dog which so generously seazed upon his prey, whilest the other of the same litter, minded nothing but the Kitchen, and scraps; sufficiently shew the different effects of good and bad education, either for the raysing or represling of courage. Good discipline made the *Spartans* magnanimous, and evill education the *Cretensians* idle, the *Sybarites* effeminate, and the *Ionians* faint-hearted. *Semiramis* educated in generositie, knew how to lead armies. *Sardanapalus* bred up in delights, knew nothing but how to spin: So as by good instructions women become men, and by base education, men turne women.

2. Good education.

Plut. in Lycur.

Wherefore *Plato*, *Lycurgus*, and all such as have either described, or erected Republikes, have (before all things) recommended the good instruction of youth: since one cannot expect other than crooked trees

from ill set Plants. Nature as yet soft and tender, easily slides, as water, on that side to which education turnes her; it inclineth as doth the yong tree, on which side soever one bends it; receiving as white paper, all impressions thereon engraven, either of vertue or vice; of cowardise or courage. This caused *Socrates* to bee so curious in drawing to him all the yong youths of the most illustrious families in *Athens*; to frame them by Philosophicall instructions, by lively and fervent exhortations, and by the sharpenesse of his reprehensions, often drawing teares both from the hearts and eyes of his tender Disciples, who after became those couragious Captaines, and generous Magistrates, whose immortall memory all after-ages have conserved and honoured. And the ancient Romans placed all the youths of most noble families (who by the priviledge of their ranke were after called to highest places in the Republike) with those great States-men, whom even to this day we admire and reverence; to the end their conversation, instructions, and exam-

Plutarch. in Alcibiade.

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ple might betimes inspire, and infuse in those tender soules, the seeds of their vertues, and the generous instinct of their grandeur and courage. For Lyons whelps learne not their generosity but among older Lyons; so as if they be bred among other domesticall creatures; their education bastardizeth their nature; and the under-growths of Palme trees transplanted neare to vulgar fruits, become barren, but planted neare male Palme trees, they afford their fruits, shew what is in them, and make it appeare what they are: So great power hath education, and culture, not in men onely, but even in bruit beasts and Plants.

3 To be free from ambition, and from the inordinate love of dignities.

But Physitians informe us that the bodies tumor resembles its good liking, though it notwithstanding prove its ruine. So Ambition, being the hearts swelling, counterfaits the greatnesse of courage, yet doth it prove the owners destruction. And herein divers deceive themselves, who imagine to traine their children in vertue and generositie, by imprinting in them, and causing them together with their milke to sucke va-

nity, and the ambition of dignities; though in truth there is not any thing which makes them more base, or lesse worthy of what they wish for on their behalfes. The Philosopher affirmeth those creatures to be most hardy and generous, which have the least hearts: because naturall heat cannot so well warme and inflame with courage a great, as a little heart: as fire both better warme a small, than a great house. The world commonly cals those who ambitiously ayme at honours; men of great heart; and the despisers thereof, men of a little heart. But when they come (after) to the triall, they soone see the vanity of their Iudgements. Since those who they supposed to have had so great hearts basely shrinke at any resistance; as great bladders full of winde, which lose all their swelling upon the least prick: whereas those, who seemed to have, so low, and little hearts, discover upon occasion, the greatnesse of their courage. Wee then see, the fire of vertue heats not those hearts which are full of ambition, and swolne with vanitie, but theirs (doubtlesse) who rightly re-

Arist. lib. 3. de partibus animalium.

reflecting on themselves appeare lowly, hiding their magnanimity in their humility. So as one of the principall dispositions to the greatnesse of courage requisite in a Magistrate, is to be free from ambitious Passion, which softeneth the heart as it swels it, taking from them as much fortitude as it affords them vanity. It belongs not to any to shew himself generous, & by his generosity to validate his offices, but to him who knows how to despise them, and I cannot conceive how those who pursue them, should thus prostitute them, there being none who truely know how to honour them, but those who slight them. Th'one passion feedes the other, love rayseth feare, hee who in offices more affects honour than obligation, doth more feare the losse of dignity, than of vertue; and this irregular love captivating him to so base a feare, causeth him to prostitute his charge to impiety. Wherefore to cut up this mischiefe by the roots, we are to extirpate this disordinate love of honours and dignities out of our hearts. If thou wilt cease to love, thou wilt leave to feare, (said Some-

Sen. Epist. 5. Defines timere, si amare desieris.

ca to *Lucilius*) and feare once displaced, courage is at liberty, to exercise (upon occasion) the heroicall acts of generositie.

Chap. 13.

A pursuit of the same subiect.

THe love of honours ought to succeed a better love; and the feare to loose honours, the feare to forsake true honour, by committing any unworthy act. If this love maintaine this feare, this apprehension will censure true magnanimity of courage. It is sufficient testimony of magnanimity; to be fearefull in this wise. It was to this feare (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Cleomenes*) that the so generous and magnanimous *Spartans* erected a Temple, signifying thereby, that the feare of committing any thing against their duties, was the nurse of magnanimity. But the most noble love is

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to love God, the greatest honour is to seeke his glory, and the most generous feare is to dread to offend him. *Thy words have made my heart tremble* (sayd the Prophet *David*) he trembled before God, and was confident before Princes, proclayming his pleasure unto them; before Lyons tearing them in peeces with his bare hands; before the armed *Golias* assaulting him without any weapon, save a silly Sling. This assurance which he shewed before men, proceeded from the feare he had in Gods presence. The Tree, though never so well rooted, forbeares not to shake towards Heaven, but stands stiffe to ground; and the same winde causing the top to tremble, reinforceth the root. The heart yeilding to cœlestiall feare, knowes not how to dread any earthly thing; and the same apprehension causing it to tremble in Gods presence, makes it immovable before all the baytes, threats, and assaults, the world can afford. When Iustice, or Gods honour is any way interessed, wee know not how to feare any but God (sayth the great St. *Basil* Bishop of *Cesarea* to

Psal. 118. *A verbis tuis trepidavit cor meum.*

the Emperour *Valens* his Preſident, who preſſed him in his Maſters behalfe by all ſorts of threats to ſubſcribe to a point by him propounded againſt the true faith; To whom the Preſident having replyed, that he never met with any man who anſwered him in ſuch a ſort; happily thou haſt never met with a Biſhop (replyed this generous ſoule) we are really to confeſſe the true ſourſe of great courage neceſſary not onely for Biſhops and Spirituall Princes, but for thoſe likewiſe who governe the Temporall, to proceed from the zeale to Gods glory, whereto all ſhould have relation: a zeale, I ſay, derived from his love and feare. The meer Philoſopher hath acknowledged this veritie by naturall illumination, when hee uttered this approoved ſentence: *Thoſe who are pious and Religious towards God, are generous and unremoveable.* And this other to the ſame effect: *Thoſe who are beſt diſpoſed towards divine things, are the moſt magnanimous.* A word pronounced by Nature, convincing thoſe Libertines, both of vanity, and impiety, who by over-farre ſearching into Nature, and

Ariſt. lib 2. Rhet. cap. 5. Intrepidi & confidentes ſunt, qui pii in Deum ſunt.

Ariſt. eodem loco: Qui bene ſe habent erga divina audaciores ſunt.

and shutting their eyes against the light of Heaven, choake in themselves (by the just judgement of God) not faith onely which they despise, but Naturall reason also, which they so much Idolatrize: for they fall into so great an excesse both of impietie; and stupiditie, as to say that Pietie towards God, causeth the courage of men to become base and pusillanimous, in that they see it make men humble and modest. As though one should say, that Physicke takes away the seeming good estate of a Dropsie-man, because it bereaves him of the tumour. But to make these wretches blush, wee shall onely need this voyce of Nature pronounced by the Philosopher, without alleadging that of the Holy Ghost speaking in Scripture: *Our Lord is the protectour of my life before whom shall I tremble?* (Sayth the Prophet *David*) *If Armies rise up against me, my heart shall be without feare.* And to terrifie these upstart Giants, who strive to finde this heigth of of Courage, not in God but themselves; there needs no Army but a word only. A promise, a threat, a favour, a worldly interest

preſently caſts all their goodly magnanimitie to ground, ſhewing to their confuſion, that to be puffed up, and yet truly magnanimous, to be arrogant and withall generous, are two things like in apparance, but oppoſite in effect. The one proceeds from men, and the other is derived from God, from whom all good floweth to us. The Magiſtrate who hath the feare of God, Piety, and zeale engraven in his heart, who conſiders how among men he repreſents Gods perſon, holds his place, and adminiſtreth Iuſtice in his Name, will (upon this reflection) be enflamed with a ſanctified generoſitie, to conquer injuſtice; Exciting, and awaking himſelfe by this ſpur, as the Lyon preparing himſelfe for the Combate. Hee cruſheth (as *Iob* ſayd) the chaps of the wicked, and ſnatcheth the prey they would not leave, from between their Teeth; he oppoſeth himſelfe, as a ſtrong Banke againſt the Inundation of iniquity; he reſpecteth neyther power, greatneſſe, credit, nor riches, but only right, and reaſon: he reſembles the River *Euphrates*, which ſtops not its courſe

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in the encounter of never so high Mountaines. He preferreth his duty before his honours, his estate, and his life: and if therefore he endure Persecution from men; hee expects the crowne of his constancy at Gods hands. This it is, which cherisheth true magnanimitie; *Nor is there any thing* (as Saint *Basile* right divinely sayth) *can cause the Soule to become more stout and generous, than an affection, unbound from the world and fastened to God:* The sleighting of perishable goods and honours, and the object of eternall Treasures. *The spirit of a Wise man* (saith *Seneca*) *elevated towards Heaven by Contemplation, when hee shall after bee seated upon the Tribunal, or upon the Curiall Chayre, acknowledgeth how low and despicable that seat is.* This knowledge causeth him to sleight it, and this sleighting gives him greatnesse of courage: and as he is not ascended thither but in performance of his dutie; so is hee at all times ready to come downe for justice sake. It is the true ascending to come down in this kinde.

Bas. hom. de Invidia.

Sen. Ep 68. Sapientis animus cæle immissus cum sellam, aut tribunal ascenderit, intelligit, quam humili loco sederit.

But it is reported that the *Gallican Hercu-*

les did not ſo much captivate people by the force of his armes, as by the golden chayne of his tongue. And *Homer* continually ranks the valorous *Achilles*, with the eloquent *Vliſſes*; to ſhew that courage and eloquence, a generous ſoule, and a gracefull ſpeech, make an happy conjunction, cauſing that politician, of whom we ſpeake, to be like to *Pericles*, couragious and copious, generous and eloquent, a man on whom *Minerva* on the one ſide had beſtowed her wiſdome and Fortitude; and on the other ſide *Pytho* the Goddeſſe of perſwaſion had upon his lips builded her Temple, to enable his Prudence, his Iuſtice, and his magnanimous courage, by the forces of eloquence.

Eloquence therefore as the ornament, and embelliſhment of Politick vertues, ought to be the laſt touch in this Table.

Chap.

Chap. 14.

Of Eloquence, being as the Ornament of Politicke vertues, giving vigor and gracefulneſſe to make them eſtimable.

GOD was not only pleaſed to have ſo richly built and ſo elegantly deſigned the parts of this great Vniverſe; but would further, to this ſtructure and diſtinction, adde an admirable ornament beautifying the Heavens with ſo many ſtars, embelliſhing the ayre with ſuch a variety of Birds, adorning the Ocean and other waters, with ſo excellent a variety of Fiſhes, the Earth with ſo agreeable a diverſity of Animals, Trees, Fruits, and Flowers, and the very Earthes entrayles, with ſo many rich Minerals: to the end that this Beauty ſhining and ſparkling out of all this ornament, might adde both perfection and fame to this great Fabrick. Nor hath hee adorned

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and beautified the world in groſſe, but each particular member thereof, likewiſe affording to the Starres light, to flowers their tinctures, to trees their verdure, to mettals their gloſſe, to pretious ſtones their luſtre, to living Creatures eyther Feathers, haires, or ſcales, ſerving them not onely for defence, but comelineſſe; to man the beauty of viſage, the ornament of hayre, the gracefulneſſe ariſing out of the uprightneſſe of his body, and out of the harmonious proportion of all the parts whereof he is compoſed. Art, Natures Ape, ſtrives likewiſe to rayſe all ſhe produceth, by ſome kinde of embelliſhment. The Art of painting by ſhadowes and lively colours. The Architect his Pillars by Freeſes and Artificiall Formes. The Goldſmith his Iewels, by enamell. Briefly, all Artsadde Ornament to their Actions, to make them appeare perfect. The ſame which Ornament is in all the works of Nature and Art, it ſeemes to me that Eloquence is in a man of excellent parts, adding to his vertues as luſtre doth to a Diamond, or lively colours to a picture, both ſtate, grace, and light.

light? And truely, if reaſon be the Ornament of man, ſpeech the Interpreter of reaſon, and Eloquence the Grace of diſcourſe; who ſeeth not, that Eloquence is mans ornament; and if ſpeech raiſe man above all other Creatures, what richer ornament can a man deſire ſayd the *Roman* Orator, than to be excellent above other men, in the ſame thing wherein man is ſuperiour to all Creatures.

Cic. l. 1. de Invēt. Preclarum quiddā videtur adeptus is, qui qua re homines beſtiis præſtent ea, in re hominibus ipſis antecellat.

If therefore he, who more than ordinarily purſueth vertue, doth likewiſe extraordinarily follow the light of reaſon; To whom can Eloquence be more beſeeming, than to the vertuous; to the end, that the ſame order, which the Law of reaſon hath ſetled in him, the ſweetneſſe of perſwaſion may communicate, extend, and imprint in all others. But to what vertue is this ornament more ſutable, than to the vertue Politicke, which being borne for others, procuring the good of others, appearing (for generall profit) upon the Theater of honors; ought to iſſue forth well adorned, to ſhew her ſelfe in her full trim, with all things that may

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Cic. 3. de Oratore. Multum ego in excellente Oratore, eodemque viro bono pono esse ornamenti in universa civitate.

dy of the common-wealth, but doth much more profit it. For wisedome (indeed) gi-

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me to soare yet higher, and to referre the Source of States and Common-

contribute to make her recommendable, and usefull in the presence of all men: I say, recommendable, for can any thing acquire greater authority to the vertue appearing in publicke, than doth Eloquence ravishing men with admiration? I say likewise, usefull: for even as in Nature Vtilitie and Ornament are inseparable, and there being nothing more profitable for the world, than what doth most adorn it, as the Sun & light. This is also particularly seene in Art, as in Architecture, wherein Pillars being the beautie of the building, are likewise the supports: So Eloquence, which wee terme the ornament of Politicke vertues, is no vaine one, but wherein benefit accompanieth beauty, usefulnesse is annexed to gracefulnesse, and the good thence arising to humane society, equalliseth the delightfulnesse. And as the eye contributeth much ornament to the body, and with all great commodity: So the Eloquence of a vertuous States-man highly adorneth the whole body of the common-wealth, but doth much more profit it. For wisedome (indeed) gi-

Cic. 3. de Orat. Multum ego in excellente Oratore, eodemque viro bono pono esse ornamenti in universa civitate.

veth good Counſels, Prudence fitting meanes to bring them to perfection; Iuſtice, good intentions; courage, brave reſolutions; but what wiſedome knoweth, what Prudence makes choice of, what Iuſtice procureth; what good ſoever courage reſolveth on or attempteth; Eloquence perſwadeth, and makes it well liking to others, ſo as it addeth to all the parts of Politicke vertue, not onely graceſulneſſe and beauty, but vigour and authority. I will not here reſolve upon, what the Orator *Caſſius*, and the Lawyer *Scævola* diſputed upon in the Roman Orator: to weet, whether Prudence, or Eloquence laid the firſt foundations of Republickes and humane ſocieties: yet may one ſafely ſay, If raſh Eloquence were unable to make this maſter-piece, dumb Prudence could not effect it, but the one had need of the others aſſiſtance: Eloquence requiring the reaſons of Prudence, and Prudence the perſwaſions of Eloquence. But holy Writ, and Gods revelations ſummon me to ſoare yet higher, and to referre the Source of States and Common-

Cic. lib. 1. de Oratore.

wealths not to men but God, not to humane Prudence or Eloquence, which had never knowne neither that by its counsels, nor this by its allurements, how to curbe men naturally borne to liberty, under the yoke of obedience; but rather to the naturall inclination ingrafted by God in the soule of man, to live in society, and for living in this societie to establish order, and to submit themselves unto some one. Now it is very probable, that those to whom men have subjected themselves in execution of Gods ordinance ingrafted, and imprinted in them, have beene the most excellent, of all other, not onely to invent by Prudence, just and profitable decrees, but moreover to make Iustice appeare, and to perswade profit by word of mouth. And though the Law having higher authority useth no preface nor perswasion, but only a full and absolute commandement; Yet surely those who first proposed Lawes to men, were obliged to make it appeare unto them by discourse, that their commandements were just, not tyrannicall, their authority reasonable and

not violent. Whereupon the *Roman* Orator sayth, *That the ancient Law-makers, Lycurgus, Solon, Pittacus, and others were endued with wisedome, to invent good Lawes, and with Eloquence also to perswade the admittance thereof.* Yea, the Scripture it selfe noteth, how when God established *Moses* as a Law-maker, and conducter of his people, *Moses* alleadging for his excuse the defect of Eloquence, hoping thereby to have discharged himselfe of this Commission: God was pleased, not onely to give him power, and wisdome, but moreover unloosed his naturall stammering and fluttering in speech, to the end he might propose and establish his Lawes, not onely wisely, and with authoritie, but gracefully likewise, and with perswasion. And the Sonne of God being come into the World to settle the State of his holy Church, and to give men the law of perfection, was pleased to accompany his infinite wisedome in ordayning, and his soveraigne authoritie in commanding, with his divine Eloquence in perswading: so as the Gospell sayth, *That*

Cic. lib. 3. de Orat.

Mirabantur omnes in verbis gratiæ quæ procedebat de ore ejus. Nũquam sic loquutus est homo.

the sweetnesse of those gracious words flowing from his mouth, wrapt all men in admiration; causing them to protest that never any man spoke with so much truth, sweetnesse, and force. So indeed, the Eternall, increated, and subsistent word, framed his speech, and his sacred mouth was the Organ, his word the conceipt, and his voyce the sound of the divine word. And when afterward he sent his Apostles to erect the Spirituall estate over the whole world, the Foundations whereof, he had formerly layd in *Iudæa*, tongues were the last peece wherewith hee armed them, after he had stored them with wisdome, counsell, and authority. But heavenly tongues, to the end that as their power and wisdome was spirituall, so should their Eloquence be also, and that from whence the Law and Commandements which they intimated to men did proceed, even from thence, and not from humane Art, should their perswasion be derived. But since God (the soveraigne and absolute Lord of man) hath found it fitting, and convenient to use towards us (as being

desirous to draw us unto him) not onely commandements, but exhortations (as the Apostle speaketh) would he not hereby instruct us; hee (I say) who seeth apparantly the most secret and most hidden passages of mans heart, that nothing doth more excite, or hath greater power, and Empire over man, than speech and plausible perswasion, and that discourse sooner gayneth hearts by the sweetnesse of reason, and pleasing force of truth, than rough Authoritie by the terrour of her power.

Tanquam deo exhortante per nos.

Chap. 15.

Of the Efficacy of Eloquence.

IT is therefore a happy advantage, when Eloquence, and the faculty of discourse, concurre joyntly with their wisdome and Authority, who rule, or governe men; nor can one desire eyther

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Of the Efficacy of Eloquence.

IT is therefore a happy advantage, when Eloquence, and the faculty of discourse, concurre joyntly with their wisdome and Authority, who rule, or governe men; nor can one desire eyther

fairer ornament to their dignity, or ſtronger armes for their vertue. For we have not to deale with brute Beaſts, which abſolute force may captivate, nor with Angels without paſſion, to whom reaſon ſimply and barely propoſed may at all times ſatisfie: But we have to doe with men, who have reaſon, which we are to know how to ſatisfie by reaſon, and paſſions which we are (when occaſion is offered) to underſtand how eyther to appeaſe and ſweeten; or ſtirre up and inflame by diſcourſe: How often hath Iuſtice loſt her cauſe, for want of being repreſented with requiſite efficacie before men preoccupated with paſſion? What cauſed *Socrates* to be condemned in *Athens*, and *P. Rutilius* at *Rome*, both the one, and the other being innocent; but only, that the former contented himſelfe to refute the calumnies of his accuſers, by ſimple and naked negations; and the latter forbad his Advocates to uſe any ſtrength, or vehemency of ſpeech in the maintainance of his innocency. The Roman Orator indeed ſayth, that if one might plead

his cauſe in *Plato's* imaginary Republicke, before Philoſophers exempt from all paſſions, and humane perturbations; It were well to be wiſhed, that onely reaſon ſhould governe humane affaires, and that paſſion ſhould have no power over them. Since (it being ſo) the naked, and ſimple propoſition of what were juſt, would happily ſuffice without any Eloquence to draw them to good. But ſince only to wiſh this order among men, is not to eſtabliſh the ſame; it is fitting (as much as we may) to rectifie the diſorder, and rather to reflect upon the remedies of preſent miſchiefes, then upon the vaine wiſhes of a happineſſe, not to be had. And ſince depraved inclinations, paſſions, vices, voluptuouſneſſe, and perverſe habitudes, have ſo farre preoccupated humane ſpirits, as lyes ſeeme oftentimes Truth unto them, and iniquity Iuſtice; what better remedy to make way againſt all theſe impediments to right, and reaſon, than the force of reaſon it ſelfe, explaned by Eloquence, illuſtrated by lively words, and animated by efficacious geſtures and motions: Reaſon

(I say) which presented to so ill affected spirits, simply, and nakedly, would be presently rejected; but appearing with the grace and winning garb of this fitting ornament, it winneth the hearts of the most refractarie, it insinuates it selfe into the worst disposed thoughts, cures most ulcered humors; and (which is a most happy kinde of healing) it cures them with content. It is sayd that the *Aspick*, suffers it selfe to bee charmed by the Enchanters voyce, forgetting its naturall rage. The *Lyra* appeaseth the *Tyger*, Musick the *Dolphin*: *Davids* Harpe the *Divell* tormenting *Saul*: The sound of *Flutes* asswageth the paines of the *Gowt*. And one of *Alexanders* Musitians, had a tune, wherewith he could sodainly calme the fire of his furie, and cause it to lay downe Armes in the heighth of his greatest heate. Eloquence hath yet farther power over humaine passions, to moderate, bend, calme, overcome, and to cause them (though it selfe unarmed) to yeild up their weapons to reason. Eloquence charmes the Sences, mollifieth harts, inciteth Affections, frameth desires, in o-

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ther mens passions, commandeth without law, raigneth without Scepter, forceth without Serjeants, leaveth men to their freedome yet exerciseth in them a secret Empire. It findes Wolves, and makes them Sheepe; encountreth Lions, and leaves them Lambs, not touching Bodies, but transforming Soules, and changing Wills, without altering Nature. What was the Eloquence think you, of that Philosopher, who commending Eloquence in prelence of a debauched young man, crowned with Flowers, clapping his hands, tripping about, and dancing to the sound of Flutes, in habit and gesture of one who celebrated the Feast of *Bacchus*; entring into his Schoole in this equipage, with purpose to scoffe at him, did so lively pierce him with the Darts of his discourse, as hee presently caused him to cast his Flowers from him, to quit his caprings, to breake his Flutes, to settle his countenance, and to testifie by the change of his comportment, the alteration of his Spirit. What force (suppose you) had *Pericles* his Eloquence, being commonly termed Thunder, and

Lightning; who by ſpeaking, imprinted in all hearts, certaine ſtrong incitements, and ſtirred up all ſpirits with unuſual tranſports, enclining them to Wiſdome. What kinde of vehemency (imagine you) had that torrent of *Demoſthenes* his Eloquence, which ſo long ſtayed the courſe and ſucceſſe of *Philips* good Fortune, without any other armes then his tongue? What vigor had the ſpeech of *Phocion*, who a thouſand times rayſed the courage of his Country men, by his enflamed diſcourſes, no leſſe than he did their Fortunes, by his victorious armes. But the authority theſe *Orators* acquired in *Athens*, and the profit they brought to their Republick appeared clearely by this example. At what time the *Athenians* reduced to extremity by *Alexander* the *Great*, could not obtaine peace at his hands but under condition to ſend him (as Priſoners) their *Captaines* and *Orators*; it came to this paſſe, that in retayning their *Orators*, they ſatiſfied him in baniſhing their *Captaines*: ſo as therein they ſhewed how much they preferred Eloquence before valour; ſuppoſing

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it to be more availeable for them to maintaine the tongue, than the ſword in the Citie. What ſhall I ſay of the *Romans*, with whom Eloquence did at all times march hand in hand with valour: theſe two having rayſed their Republickes in Power, Greatneſſe, and Glory, above all the Empires of the World.

Chap. 16.

That Eloquence doth principally appeare in popular States, but that it may be likewiſe very uſefull in Monarchicall Governments.

TRuely as the popular Eſtates of *Athens* and *Rome* have cauſed Eloquence to be of high eſteeme, ſo doth it (in truth) ſeeme that Eloquence in ſuch places is moſt uſefull being of more ſplendour in popular eſtates, where it is neceſſary to perſ 3 ſwade

ſwade the people to what is profitable for the publick, than in Monarchicall States where thoſe who are encharged with publike government, are onely to propoſe their counſels and opinions to the Soveraigne, & thereupon receiving his commands to intimate the ſame to the people; which without all compariſon is more majeſticall, firme, & ſolid for the good and quiet of men, then the opinion; or advice of a Tribune or Orator, confirmed by the ſuffrages of a raſh multitude. It therefore affords not ſo large a Field to the power of ſpirit, nor ſo ample a ſubject to Eloquence. Nevertheleſſe, as certaine Birds who make no uſe of their wings for flying, and ſoaring in the ayre, yet employ them notwithſtanding in their walking on earth, therewith putting themſelues forward with more ſpeed and ſtrength: So Eloquence not meeting with thoſe ſpacious places in Monarchies to ſoare in (if I may ſo ſay) with diſplayed wings, doth yet at all times ſhew her dexterity and promptitude even in thoſe ſtraight limits encloſing her: and her wings, though uſeleſſe unto her for flying,

flying, do yet at leaſt help her to walk with greater vivacity.

Beſides, the inconſtancie of worldly affaires affordeth but over-many ſubjects even in beſt ſetled Kingdomes; on the one ſide to cauſe the peoples fidelity to appeare towards their Soveraigne, and on the other ſide to employ Eloquence in his Service, and for publike profit. Occaſions (I ſay) which are no more to be deſired than Phiſick: but when theſe occurrents happen, Eloquence (at ſuch time) joyned with vertue and authority, ſheweth her abilities highly advancing the glory of her Author. And when we have ſayd all, Eloquence is a golden Collet for a Diamond, and a precious ornament, eyther to vertue or dignity, authoriſing that, and raiſing this, it makes both of them eſtimable, and which raviſhing men by her inticements as the *Roman* Orator obſerveth, cauſeth them who poſſeſſe it to be admired and reverenced as little Gods among men.

But moſt commonly whatſoever is excellent is rare: There is but one Sunne in the

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Firmament, yet above a thousand Starres, pibble stones are plentifull, but Diamonds are only found in some corner of the world; Carbuncles are scarcely discovered; Incense is only gathered in *Saba*, the *Balsamum* heretofore but in *Iudea*; Amber-greece but in *Orcades*: it seeming that Nature desired to adde raritie to the excellencie of her most beautifull workes, thereby to augment the estimation. The *Roman* Orator hath particularly observed Natures sterility and nigardice in the production of Eloquent persons. She hath afforded (saith he) speech to all, discourse to some; but Eloquence to so few, as it is wonderfull to consider how in all ages and States there are a competent number of excellent Captaines, learned Philosophers, perfect Architects, compleat Painters, right sufficient Artists, in all the liberall and mechanicall Sciences, and scarce one indifferent Orator; which truely is to be admired, since Eloquence hath never beene wanting unlesse (perhaps) in this age, adoring nothing but the Gold of Honour and and recompence; beeing (as an ancient Author

Autour (saith) the two Divels governing all humane counsels and enterprises. Yet notwithstanding Floquence (though honoured) rewarded, and laboured for by all the best wits that ever were in Fame, hath successefully hapned to so few, and so rarely, as peradventure the *Phœnix* (though the onely of her kinde) is more frequent in the World than an excellent Oratour. If it bee true, that in every age (at least) one may be found. *Greece* hardly produced foure or five, and *Rome* two or three, that merit the Title of Eloquent. And besides, (even in this so little a number) one would say that Nature desired to be sparing, contenting her selfe to bestow on each of these some parts of Eloquence, fearing (it may be) shee should have undertaken too great a taske and an over hardy enterprise, had she essayed to assemble all the qualities thereof in one man. For according to the *Roman* Orators judgement who made the lots. *Socrates*, had the sweetnesse; *Lysias*, the sharpenesse; *Hyperides*, the exactnesse; *Aeschines*, the discussion; *Demosthenes*, the force and vehemence

of Oratorie; to whom (I pray you) have all these perfections joyntly met, to make up a master peece of Eloquence? As for the *Romans*: *Cicero* hath, with advantage gained the prize from all those of his Nation and perhaps from all the *Greekes*; And *Seneca* made no question to equalize this excellent wit to the greatnesse of the *Roman Empire*; yet doth he acknowledge himselfe to come farre short of the *Idea* he conceived of a perfect Orator. So as Censurers, and Criticks, have (in him) espyed, I know not what seeming flat diffuse and sinewlesse; It being sayd of him as he sayd of *Demosthenes*, that he much pleased his eares, but filled them not at all. I will speake nothing of *Ecclesiasticall* Orators, who in their discourse have sought for a more sublime thing than *Eloquence*, though some among them, and namely the Fathers of the *Greeke* Church, have bin therewith sufficiently furnished had they bin pleased to make shew thereof not onely to come neare, but even to equalize Secular Orators. But as *Seneca* sayd of a *Philosopher, They rather sought to speake and*

write

write to hearts, than to eares. They were Gods *Embassadors*, and their *Embassie* was addressed to hearts. *Speake to the heart of Ierusalem*, layd God to his Prophet. But men are eyther so weake, as they doe nothing of perfection, or so curious as nothing contents them: so as it is no marvell, if they have conceived such an *Idea* of *Eloquence*, as whereof they neither have bin, nor are able ever to see the effect. But to returne to *Plato*, and to speake only of what hath heretofore beene, and may againe happen. There are so many qualities requisite to forme an *Eloquent* person, not such an one as may bee imagined, but such an one as may peradventure be met withall; that when Nature produceth any one such, she assembles (as did *Zeuxis*) all the rare touches of most compleat Beauties to make this portrait. She affords him a quick apprehension, a fruitfull imagination, an happy memory, a solide judgement, a cleare wit, an infatigable patience, to gather (as doth the Bee) the flowers of all Bookes, and Sciences, the reasons of Philosophers, Logicians arguments, the

ſecrets of Naturaliſts, the Decrees of Law-makers, Hiſtorians Treaſures, Grammarians purity, the tearmes of Poets, and enricheth him with the ſpoyles of all Liberall, and Mechanical Arts. For Eloquence ought to ſpeak of all things with propriety, aboundance, and Ornament, never becomming empty; and to reſemble a River, which never ſtayes but runs inceſſantly, one while ſlyding eaſily over the Plaines, otherwhiles, roaring impetuouſly athwart Mountaines; ſometimes boyling and foaming againſt Rockes, carrying all before him that he encounters, drawing along all impediments, alwayes full, ever equall, ſave onely that he ſwelleth, and mounteth the farther he is from his Fountaine, ſhewing at all times the moſt vigour where hee encounters moſt Difficulties. *That Beautie* (ſayth *Seneca*) *wherein ſome one agreeable Feature onely appeareth deſerveth not the name of Beautie.* That Forreſt is not faire, where onely two or three goodly Trees appeare among a ſort of ſhrubbes; nor is that Oration Eloquent, where one Member onely is compleat, and

and the reſt defectuous; but that wherein the Proportion, and Perfection of the whole, crowneth with its luſtre the Beautie of each part. Eloquence is a Queene, who goeth not any whither without the attendance of her Ornaments, never ſhewing eyther want, or ſcarcitie, preſenting her ſelfe in all places where ſhee comes, with Graceſulneſſe and Majeſticall Royaltie: and for the Entertainement of the Traine, and Pompe ſutable to her qualitie, ſhe exacteth Tribute from all Arts, and Sciences. Wherefore the ancient *Greekes* did not ſeparate *Eloquence* from *Wiſedome*, and knowledge of things; but termes it, the Wiſedome and facultie of well-ſpeaking (as the *Roman* Orator well obſerved.)

Whereas on the other ſide, this ſuperfluitie of words, voyd of ſolidity, being in ſo great fame in this Age, deſerveth (in the opinion of the Wiſe) the onely Title of Folly. Poets faine, how *Ixion* embracing a Cloud in place of the true *Iuno*, begot onely *Centaures* inſteed of Children:

So these talkers, embracing in their discourse, the shadowes and Phantasmes of their imagination, for want of the reasons of solid learning, supposing thereby to produce Eloquence, bring forth onely a Monster, causing by its novelty, admiration in weak spirits, but horrour by its deformity to all judicious persons. Their discourses are as these imperfect Creatures which are termed *Insecta*: rising not by generation but corruption; since not the vigour of spirit, but the vanity of a flowing braine produceth them. The wit not nourished with the good juyce of Letters, and Sciences, and chiefly of Philosophy, striveth in vaine to conceive, or utter a masculine, and vigorous discourse; and if it chance to vent any thing by the force of imagination, the sound whereof may seeme to appeare of weight, and consequence, it is but the sound of an empty Cave, puffed with Winde, and voyd of substance.

Chap. 17.

Of the Counterfait Eloquence of this Age.

BVt Science, and Learning, being onely the seed, and substance of Eloquence, there is farther to bee required (for the conferring Essence, and forme thereon) Fecundity for Invention, Discretion for Choice, Clearenesse for Disposing, Facility for Expression, Elegancy for Ornament, Example for Illustration, Motions for Inflaming; Tunableness of voyce, and Gesture of Body, proportioned and framed for the addition of Perfection. And (for the further acquisition of all these parts) an excellent naturall wit, a deepe study with extraordinary practise. By this, the ancient *Greekes* and *Romans*, (laborious, and assiduous in that exercise) obtained their great glory in this Art. Which our *Demosthenes* hath well observed in his *French* Eloquence, where

where he hath so worthily handled this subject, that to speake after him were to gleane after harvesters, and to croake after the Swans tune. I will only say, that comparing the Writings of Ancients, with this brood and swarme of Bookes, which this Age produceth as Mushromes over Night, and faded next morning; one may easily observe the same difference, as there is betweene the Dwarfe like men of these times, and those huge and robustious *Heroes* of the first Ages, described unto us by *Poets*. Now be it that each thing hath its resolution, or that Nature is decayed, or the World inclining toward old Age, is unable to forme so full and vigorous a discourse, as in the age of its virility; but returnes as decayed old men to its childish babling; or that men in vaine desire to search the cause of this decay, the effects at least are evident. It is needlesse to speake any thing of these Court writers, and Discoursers, who of themselves arrogate the authority of prescribing Lawes to Speech, and Eloquence, yet have none other than a Minion-like Gebridge, and some cold and dull

dull rencounters of words and phrases, like those Sophists whom *Plato* in mockery calls, *Fencers of words*; and whose discourse S. *Basil* compares *to little Cakes kned with Honey* having onely a certaine distastefull and flat sweetnesse to tickle the taste of little children, but no substance for manly food. The same a certaine Lacedemonian sayd of the *Nightingale* sutes wel with these. *Thou art a voice, and naught else.*

Plato in soph. D Basil. l. ad Lebanium.

Let us now speake of those, who after the fashion of Tragedians, will march all upon the buskin, savoring only singularitie; thinking they speake not at all, if they astonish not men with unheard of, monstrous, and prodigious matters. As those greene-sicknesse-girls, who finde no taste in any meats which Nature alloweth of, or are comfortable to the stomacke, but chuse rather to eat ashes, coales, and spiders, a true evidence of a depraved taste. So the wits of this age, reiecting in their discourse all solid conceptions, conformable to reason, and common sence; as vulgar and despicable fall into fantasticke imaginations, having

neither ſenſe nor foundation in their braines, a ſigne doubtleſſe of wits weak by Nature, or weakened by vanitie. The one perhaps meriting excuſe, the other worthy of double reproch. When they undertake a diſcourſe, they enter not upon the matter, nor do they aime at the concluſion; but ſtray at the firſt ſtep, and preſently looſe themſelves in a Labyrinth of unprofitable paſſages, confuſed adaptations, & frivolous ſimilitudes, which they ioine and patch together as ſhreds of divers ſtuffes and colours, with rough, and courſe thred. If they happen upon any ſtrange, obſcure, or blundered conception, their diſcourſ catches hold, & drawes it thereto, as the wind *Caecias*, doth clouds & ſtorms. If there be any new found ſtone in India, if any floure, or fruit at the worlds end, whoſe name is unheard of: If any monſtrous *Chimera's* amongſt *Plato's* and the *Rabines* Dreames; if any ruſty medall in the Monuments of Antiquitie: there is no ſubiect, how far fetcht ſoever, but is brought in, and drawn by top or tayle. And this is that which as rare and new, ſtirreth up applauſe

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in all the Theater. And as Saint *Hierome* sayd; *Such Lettuce is as fitting for their lips, as Thistles for Asses.* Briefely, the common stile of this Age, is not to discourse rationally, but fantastically, out of the *Chimæra's* of wit, where a Bulls or Horses body is seene issuing from a mans head, like those Monsters which Lunaticke persons forge in their brains, & which Painters portrait in Grotts, and the winde in Clouds. Such wits imitate certaine women, who being only great with windes, produce nothing but vapors; and when their outcries & violent throwes have drawne together the whole neighbourhood, to see some goodly childe come into the World, they are delivered of their great bellies, or rather of their tumors, by the discharge of a little inclosed aire, expelled by force, but received by laughter. Or it happeneth to them as to that Mountaine, (the report whereof ranne currant in all places) which was sayd to be in labour; every one ranne thither hoping to see some goodly and strange wonder, but when all the assembly expected to see some great bo-

dy of a Gyant to ſſlue out of her intraiſes, as a worthy fruit of ſuch a big belly, nothing was ſeene come forth but a ridiculous Rat, a worthier ſpectacle of ſo fooliſh an attendance. The mountaines are in labour, but are delivered of a ridiculous mouſe. Now this proceeds from an unbridled deſire, poſſeſſing theſe wits void of common ſenſe, to appeare learned, and eminent before the ignorant, not being aware how therein they ſhew themſelves ignorant before men of underſtanding, and ridiculous before all cleare Iudgements. For it is the cuſtome of poore men who deſire to appeare rich, to adde either to their habites, their houſes, moveables, or banquets, certaine unſeemely and unſeaſonable ornaments, clearly out of ordinary uſe, ſtil the more thereinpubliſhing their poverty, where they thinke to conceale it: and as ugly women who borrow the counterfeit beauties out of painting and Vermilion, thereby diſcovering their uncomelineſſe to their farther ſhame, in ſeeking to hide it. The ſame Marble wherewith the deformity of tombes is adorned

and beautified, causeth even those, (who otherwise would reflect on no such matter to consider how these are but graves, full of fleshlesse bones and rotten Carkasses. A piece of rich purple or velvet patcht upon the torne sheeps russet of an old pil'd cloke, serves onely to make the misetie it covers more apparent by its splendour. To bee short, the same Ornaments wherewith we seeke to conceale manifest defects, doe but make them remarkable in stead of covering them. So these Chimericall inventions, these Phantomes of the spirit, these forced Metaphors, these beg'd resemblances, and these borrowed common places ill applied out of the povertie of a barren and constrained discourse, cover not but disclose their authors ignorance. They wil forsooth avoid vulgar words, and common conceits; but they see not how it is the same of words, as of coyn, wherto onely use affords currantnesse, disuse, reiection: So among the conceptions of the Spirit, the most ordinary, and most usuall, are the soundest, and mott

receiveable: the extraordinary and particular, carry either the marke or ſuſpition of ſome folly. Beaten waies are the directeſt, by-pathes, cauſe us to wander. To avoyd the common faſhion in matter of apparell, is to make our ſelves ridiculous: To quit ordinary terms, & conceptions in diſcourſe, is to caſt our ſelves into extravagancies. Nature ſo long as ſhee is not vitiated, produceth onely ordinary things; and no ſooner doth ſhee bring to light any unuſuall matter, but ſhee falls ſicke, and bringeth forth Monſters. But this is one of the diſeaſes of theſe times. And *Seneca* ſayd right well, *That the ſtyle and ſpeech at any time current, is the Index of the Humors and Manners of that Age. Speake that I may ſee thee*, (ſayd a Phyloſopher). *Speach comes from the heart, and the Channell diſcovers the ſources quality*, This age attributes all to apparancie, nothing to ſolidity; we ſtrive not to be, but to appeare; we dreame more of plaſtering, than building; other mens eyes governe us, not our own knowledge: nor had opinion ever ſo much power in the world,

not much so little. The ſtyle of our diſcourſe beares the markes of this giddy paſſion, for we ſeek not the marrow but the colour, not the ſubſtance but the ſound, not the weight of reaſons and ſentences, but the glitterings of vaine inventions, or I know not what rancounter of words beating the ayre; and often loſt, and vaniſhing fill the eare, and leave the underſtanding hunger-ſtarved. It is the ecchoing, but emptie veſſell, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, *The ſound whereof proceeds onely from the wind it is full of.* And as the Apples of Sodome are faire, ſhining, and goldlen to their view, who ſee them far off as they hang on the trees, beeing eaſily deluded with their outward beauty; but comming near to touch them, they preſently fal in pieces, cauſing amazement in them who thinking they had gathered Apples, find nothing in their hands but aſhes. The ſame it is of the moſt of our diſcourſes, which the affected fabrick of painted words and phraſes, beautified with ſome ſmall luſtre, which beats upon the ſence; but if you nearely obſerve it, at the firſt touch this ſee-

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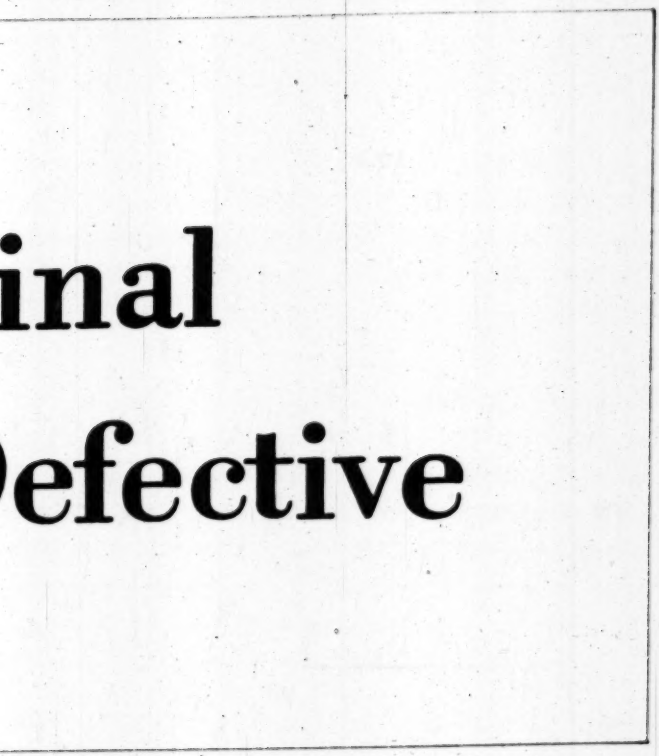
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seeming shine vanesheth into smoke: wee therein finding neither Iuice, Grace, nor Beauty. Yet is not evill unusefull for the World; since, though otherwise useless, it at least serves as a foyle to what is good, as Darkenesse to light, blacke to white, shadowes to lively colours, and spots to fayre faces, by the rancounter of their opposites. So either the monstrous, or masked style of the most of these wits distasted with whatsoever is good and naturall, beautifie the writings and discourses of some smal number, who raising the honour of French Eloquence, speake and write with Elegancy, Purity, and Soliditie. I will passe them over in silence, since they are sufficiently knowne, and publique iudgement affoordeth sufficient glory to their name, without expecting any from my pen, yet am I willing to adde this word; to the end, that having spoken of their vices, who by prodigious writings, daily defame and dishonour our Language, none should suppose, I desire to suppresse merit, or smother their praise, whose native, iudicious, and solid E-

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loquence doth highly illustrate and adorne the French tongue.

Chap. 18.

Of the Eloquence proper for the Politician, and the Conclusion of this Worke.

AFfected Eloquence (if it deserve the name of Eloquence) is unseemely for all, but chiefly for those who treat of important affaires. Nor is this great Ornament and Pompe of round set words, wherewith Orators swell their veine beseeming them. And the Ancient say, that if *Iupiter* should speake to men, he would not make use of *Demosthenes*, but of *Platoes* stile. For the discourse of grave persons should rather taste of the Philosopher, than Orator; and it is rightly befitting them, when Sentences are their Figures, Maximes their pauses, Reasons their ornaments, a strong, solid

1. Quality.

The vigour and integrity of discourse.

2. Brevity.

and round brevity their Eloquence; briefly, when the words flowing from them, shew not the syle of a laborious Art, but the quick and pleasing juyce of a well digested Prudence. The *Lacedæmonians* spake but little; but spiritfully and solidly, their words were as rich Diamonds, small in Bulke, inestimable in worth. Men value not eyther precious Stones, or Discourses, by the Greatnesse, but Gracefulnesse. A little Carbuncle is more worth than a whole Rock, a quick Sentence than a quaint and frivolous Oration: To speake little, and say much is the perfect Eloquence. It was a Law in the *Areopagites* Court, to speake nothing from the matter. *Phocion* was call'd the Axe of *Demosthenes* his Discourse, in that he cut short his unprofitable preambles: and doubtlesse it is the true Rule of Discourse, in matters of Consequence, not to extravagate into idle and superfluous matters, but to ayme directly at the marke. And questionlesse, if one speak not but to attaine his end, as one walks not but to arrive whether he tendeth; It is folly to goe by the Bow, when the shortest and best

Arist. l. 1: Rhet. Ne quid extra rem dicere-tur.

best way is by the string: and he in whose election it is, if he please to take a direct way, will nevertheless goe winding and turning by oblique paths, makes men imagine, eyther that himselfe wanders, or desires others, should goe astray who follow him. If he casually misse his way, he shewes his ignorance; If he wilfully wander, he appeares malicious: The one sheweth he is deceived, the other that he would delude others. The Speech seeking truth, ought to be simple, and without composition (sayd an *Athenian*) not bare without juyce, and gracefulnesse, but simple, without windings and ambagies, not single, without energie, but plaine without captiousnesse, not silly without naturall, and fitting attractions, but plaine without the mixture of idle allegations: not simple in regard of roughnesse, but in respect of cleareneſse, roundnesse, and ingenuity. The simplicity of Discourse signifies not a rude and ill-polished Ineligancy, but rather as the Gospel calleth the eye simple, which is pure, cleare, and neate without dimnesse, or Clouds. So is the oration sim-

3. Simplicity.

Si oculus tuus sit simplex sic totum corpus tuum lucidum erit.

ple, whence a pure and elegant ſplendor baniſheth confuſion and obſcurity: and to ſpeake properly, there is nothing leſſe ſimple, than rude, and groſſe Diſcourſes, which a heape of ſlack and idle matters entangle and confound, nor any more ſimple than a quick and elegant Diſcourſe; the purity whereof expelleth riddles, and the ſolidity ſuperfluities. Philoſophy termeth the Celeſtiall bodies ſimple in compariſon of Elementary bodyes; and *Theologie* attributes ſimplicity to God and Angels, in reſpect of things compoſed of body, and matter: ſo as ſimplicity (taken in the true ſenſe) is the perfection of things not ſignifying any defect of gracefulneſſe, ornament, or beauty, but an happy privation of impurity, imperfection, and mixture. The Heavens as they are the moſt ſimple bodyes, ſo are they the faireſt, and moſt luminous, their Beauty proceeding from their ſimplicity, and ſeparation from all mixture of ſtrange Bodyes. The Angels, more ſimple than all other created things, are likewiſe more excellent: their excellency conſiſting in

that

that they are ſingle and divided from the Vnion, and marriage of materiall things. God who is moſt ſimple, and moſt perfect, his perfection ariſeth out of his ſimplicity, and his ſimplicity from his being exempt from any compoſition: which indeed denoteth a defect in things, not having all in them, but are forced to crave allyance of ſome Exteriour thing for the obrayning of what is deficient in themſelves. So the moſt excellent and elegant Oration is that which is the moſt ſimple, not in beeing unfurniſhed of her Graces, and Attractions, but in having all her Ornaments in their vigour, her Colours in their proper juyce, and without borrowing ſtrange, farre-fetche, and ſuperfluous Ornaments, to extract her Beauty out of her proper ſubſtance, her Vermilion from her good Bloud, and as the Gold his ſhine from his owne ſoliditie.

This is the Eloquence worthy of perſons in authority, who are to comport themſelves in their Diſcourſe, as in their apparell,

wherein they avoyd not ornament and richneſſe, but curious faſhions, and the borrowed embelliſhments of affected artifice. But if the meaneſſe of their habit ſeem ſomething to derogate from their State, the bareneſſe of diſcourſe ſeemes more to debaſe it: ſince the robe onely ſheweth what they are out of themſelves, and ſpeech marketh what they are in themſelves. Beſides, if God hath beautified all the parts of mans Body, and above the reſt, thoſe moſt expoſed to view, as the Eye and Face with Graces and Attractions, why ſhould any deſire that the principall part in man, diſcovering and ſhewing the Soule, and the interiour, declaring and manifeſting man; Speech (I ſay) the lively Image of the heart and thought, ſhould appeare, baſe, naked, and unfurniſhed of convenient ornaments? The increated word of God, being his Eternall Word, is by the Apoſtle called *The Splendour of the Father*: as repreſenting his Beautie, the perfect beauty of the Eternal Fountain, whence it flowes, which is the *Divine Wiſedome*. The Speech of man, is the light and ſplendor of man, cauſing

causing him to appeare and shine, it being the lively pourtrait of what is most excellent in man, to wit, reason, and understanding. If therefore it be his splendor, is it seemely it should be voyd of gracefulnesse, or this speciall ornament abject, and neglected? What can cause him to shine, if what ought to be his light, darken him: & whence should his honour issue, if his principall ornament dishonor him? Beauty takes nothing from requisite simplicity in a grave and serious Oration, but is rather its simplicity; since in speech, as in all other things, simple and pure: pure, and faire; faire, and perfect, are the same. Holy Scripture being the revealed word of God, is simple; not soft, enervate, forcelesse, or idle; as is their Discourse, who strive to defend their rusticity, by this example, and because they are both lofty and lowly, they presently suppose they have attained the glory proper to the simplicity of the Divine style: whereas in truth that is rather; quick, energicall, powerfull, and spiritfull, stored with delightfull graces, of transpersing points, enflaming motives,

and

and of ſecret but divine ſweetneſſes, diſcovering more attractions, than all the Orators on Earth have ever beene able to utter in their elaborate diſcourſes. *Thy word is more ſweet than honey to my mouth*, (ſayd the Prophet.) Who hearkens thereto finds himſelfe catched, who reades therein is transformed. And that *Theopompus* who admired the hidden energy of this divine word, yet offēded with the ſimplicity of its termes, ſeeking to beautifie it with the flowers and pruned words of humane Eloquence (as *Euſebius* reporteth) was not aware that its ſimplicity is more perſwaſive, than all the Art of Orators: Being therefore puniſhed from above for this tranſport of folly, he taſted the juſt puniſhment of his idle enterpriſe. Simplicity therefore excludeth not the gracefulneſſe, and ſtrength of Diſcourſe, but onely the paint and ſuperfluity, which (to ſay truly) though adorned with painefull reſerches, and pompous ſpeeches, doth notwithſtanding bereave it of its ſinewes, and Originall Beautie.

Profit

Profit is another requisite quality in Politicall discourse; namely, not to speak but for the publicke. Thy discourses are as the tall and fayre Cypresse trees, which beare no fruit (sayd an Antient, to a young man) who mounted upon the Orators chayre, entertained the people with vaine and unprofitable speeches. It is indeed allowable for Sophisters and Declamours, who speak not but to please an Idle assembly, to frame to themselves Imaginary subiects, and thereupon to inlarge their discourse, and to sport at pleasure, to excite a vaine admiration, and beare away a more vaine applause, sowing winde, and gathering smoke. But these mouthes (as that of Oracles) which are consecrated to publicke utility, are never to scatter their words in the ayre, nor ever to enter upon subiects of importance (though plausible and pleasing to the vulgar) out of their due places, times, and seasons; but rather at all times to attend the necessitie, and opportunity of speaking in hope of fruit. Speech is like graine, which out of fitting places, and convenient seasons, though

4 Profit.

good, is yet unprofitably sown, producing onely shame, and losse to the seedes-man. And as for sowing to profit, we are to expect the disposition of time and soyle. So hee who will speake fruitfully will still attend the disposition of affaires, and spirits, since if affaires be not rightly disposed, hee spoyles, instead of accommodating them. If spirits he irritats in stead of calming them and all the profit he gets by his paines, is, that by spoyling the businesse, hee shewes his indiscretion, and by exasperating spirits, he revealeth his owne rashnesse.

Discreet & generous libertie.

But on the other side, when necessitie requireth a free and bold speech, and when occasion seemes to open it selfe toward the fruit, which we may probably expect; we are then to appeare with a discreet and generous freedome, beeing the last and principall quality of civill Eloquence. S. *Iames* in his Epistle compares the tongue of man to a Rudder or helme, wherewith a ship is guided; which chiefely suteth with the tongue of Magistrates, and men of Authority, who by the motives which their spee-

Naves cum magna sint circumferuntur a modico gubernaculo: sta & lingua modicum membrum est, & magna exaltat. Iac. c. 3

chey inſpires in the hearts of Princes and people, turne, and mannage with their tongues, as with an Helme in Steerage the floting veſſels of States and Empires. Now it is neceſſary that hee who ſtands at the Helme be couragious to reſiſt ſtormes and tempeſts; for then it is when hee is put to it; either thereby to ſave the ſhip, or as a good Pilot to die with helme in hand. Free ſpeeches are neceſſarie in publicke neceſſities, and then it is, we are either to deliver affaires from ſhipwracke by the freedome of ſpeech, or periſh in ſpeaking generouſly. The Scripture calls the words of Wiſemen *Stings*, and *ſharpe nayles*, for they ought to be free and faithfull, but freedome of ſpeech cannot be without ſharpeneſſe, nor truth without ſtinging, as it is ſayd, how, *though honey be ſweet and pleaſing, in its owne Nature, yet being applied to ſores it will prick and ſting*: Honey was diſallowed in the Sacrifices of the old Law, which S. *Ierome* explicateth miſtically, ſaying, *That a diſcourſe ſteeped in the Honey of a flattering adulation, not having the ſharpeneſſe and ſting of a free and biting*

Levit c. 1. D Hiero ep. 35.

truth is not a Sacrifice pleasing in Gods sight. For they who are in Office and Authoritie, are nor tied onely by a civill, but by a naturall and Divine Obligation, to speak boldly and freely, when either Gods honour, or the publicke good requireth; and if at such time they either flatter or palliat affaires, to please men, God will scorne and confound them (layth the Prophet) and will breake their bones, to wit, their power, and greatnesse, whose Interest they preferre before Iustice.

Deus dissipabit ossa eorum qui hominibus placent confusi sunt quoniam Deus creavit eos.

But to behold the lively modell of Politicke vertue attended by all these qualities, I have represented; there needs no more but only to cast our eies upon the excellent Orations of antient Captaines, Magistrates, and States-men of whom wee still reade in the Greeke and Romane Histories. Wee shall there discover a quicke strength, a round brevitie, an elegant puritie, a solid utility, and a couragious liberty. Their words are strong, their reasons pressing, their clausses short, their sentences quicke, and their points piercing. Their discourse not drawn

at length but ſuccinct, which as a wel bent bow ſhoots not ſweet floures at our eares, but ſharpe thornes at our hearts: nothing vanquiſhing idle or vaine; all tends to the point, all beates weight, all conduces to the matter, nor can a word be wanting, but part of the ſenſe, clearenesſe, vigour, or neceſſary gracefulneſſe for perſwaſion will be found defective. One ma therein obſerve (after occaſions fitly ap prehended, to ſpeak with profit) truth declared to purpoſe and with reſolution: excellent maximes deduced from experience, beeing the ſoule and ſpirit of Civill Eloquence, and in concluſion, the happy effects, ſpringing from the ſage and free diſcourſes of theſe brave and generous ſpirits; violences expreſſed, ſeditions aſſwaged, wicked deſignes choked, good counſels eſtabliſhed, warres quenched, hearts reconciled, Lawes authorized, peple delivered: briefly, eſtates preſerved by thoſe eloquent and prudent tongues, and theſe great veſſels ſaved from ſhipwracke by the conduct of ſo ſmall a ſterne. Wherefore all ſuch as wil hoiſt ſayle in the great and ſurging Sea of

Civill affaires, ought above al things to study, and exercise themselves in the well guiding this sterne: which (well handled) saves common wealth, but il & slackly managed, or imprudently conducted, it exposeth them to a thousand dangers. Nay the Emperours themselves sleighted not this point. *Cæsar*, *Augustus*, *Tyberius*, were no lesse exercised in Eloquence than in armes. And *Tacitus* in his Annals observeth, *that the first Emperour who was forced to speake by proxie*, and so study Orations, and other mens compositures, was *Nero*, who weakened with voluptuousnesse, made use of *Seneca's* wit in this service.

The conclusion of this worke.

But the tongue is not onely the guide of Empires, but the sacred Rudder also of the Churches ship. Saint *Peters* successors are the Pilots, and their tongues (Heavens spokes-men, and interpreters of the verities of Faith) conduct and guide it through all winds of errours, and storms of Hel, and the world: or rather the Holy-ghost, who gives motion to their tongues, & who descended upon them in forme of tongues to

cause them to speake: is both the Pilot governing the Helme, and the Helme conducting the Vessel. It is in this Ship I saile; it is to this Celestial tongue I submit these insufficiences of mine. If among so many words any Errors unawares have slipt in. It is this Helme, whose conduct I protest to follow, if against my will and intention, I have strayed in the prosecution of this discourse.

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FINIS.